



Charles 2<sup>d</sup> Second, by y<sup>e</sup> grace of God. King  
of England, Scotland, France, & Ireland. Defender  
of the Faith. &c.





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THE  
FANATICK HISTORY:  
OR  
An Exact  
RELATION and ACCOUNT  
OF  
*The Old* ANABAPTISTS,  
AND  
*New* QUAKERS.

Being the summe of all that hath been  
yet discovered about their most Blasphemous  
Opinions, Dangerous Practises, and Malitious  
Endevours to subvert all Civil Government  
both in Church and State.

Together with their Mad Mimick Pranks, and  
their ridiculous actions and gestures, enough  
to amaze any sober Christian.

Which may prove the Death & Burial  
OF  
The Fanatick Doctrine.

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Published with the approbation of divers Orthodox  
Divines.

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*Beloved beleive not every spirit, but try the spirits, whe-  
ther they are of God; because many false Prophets are  
gone out into the world, 1 Joh. 4. 1.*

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Rare PA



*To the Majesty of the most high and  
Mighty Prince, Charles the II.  
King of England, Scotland,  
France, and Ireland, Defender of  
the faith, &c.*

ROYAL SIR,

**T**He Author of this book if living,  
doth, as yet conceal his name, but  
however the work doth speak his  
worth: it now happily came into my hands,  
and if your title and office did not warrant  
me, I had not presumed to make your  
Majesty the Patron to so small a book  
(although of great consequence.) But (as  
you are the Defender of the Faith,) you  
have some obligation upon you to patro-  
nise it; For when had the Faith of Christ  
more need of Defence then now? and  
when was it more assaulted, and adultera-  
ted by Blasphemous tenets, and Heretical



## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

opinions especially by *Anabaptists*, and *Quakers* then now? which none but a regal authority can stifle; They are grown so exceeding high and daring, that if your Majesty put not out your royal hand of power suddenly to restrain them, they are so numerous, and so seducing, that they will (in a little time) diffuse their poyson over the better part of your Kingdom; I beseech your grace to pardon the presumption of,

Your most Loyal,

and obedient Subject,

*Richard Blome.*

The



THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

**R** Eader, thou hast here an exact account and History of the Opinions, Blasphemies, and practises of the Old Anabaptists in Germany, which so much infested those States; and the New Quakers in England, which have (of late) so much molested us: I have taken the pains of the Collection, that we being fore-warned of them, may be fore-armed against them, to avoid the like danger: they are a generation most pestiferous in their Doctrine, and dangerous in their Seduction, and so ought of all men to be avoided. There are many of late, and some of noble rank and quality, that are sensible of their erroneous ways, and are reduced from them; it is hoped (in a little time) many more will be so wise to do the like, which may prove the Death and Burial of their fanatick doctrine.

I have made a faithful Collection both out of their own books, and out of Authors of known reputation, and (that I may the better cleer my integrity therein,) I have all the way along noted the Book, and the Page where every particular is mentioned. In short, let me admonish thee to observe these rules.

1. That thou take no offence at Religion, or Religious Men] For there is pure Religion, and undefiled, and Religious ones, whose hearts are upright, whose wayes are ho'y, and ends sincere, if thou shouldst be so taken in the Devils snare, though thou beeest not fallen into Anabaptism or Quakerisme, yet thou art by them, to love Religion and Religious ones the better, but never the worse for this.

2. Do justice] Set the Saddle on the right horse, do not nick-name any thing thou dislikest, with the brand of Anabaptist or Quaker, thereby thou maist shew thy dislike but not thy charity; remember the command, Thou shalt not bear false witness

## The Preface to the Reader.

witnesse against thy neighbour : the commonnesse of the thing makes me caution thee rather, it is tedious to instance in many, one for all. Phanatique is extended beyond intencion, now it is come abroad and in vulgar mouths ; every prophane person readily brands his neighbour with it, that will not run readily with him into the same excesse of riot.

3. Be Zealous] But 1. κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν according to knowledge, do not speak evil of the things thou dost not understand, the things may well deserve blame, but thou art to be blamed that letst thy tongue run before thy wit, 2. κατὰ θεόν, and secundum regulam, according to Gods rule, let not thy fire become wildfire, do no wrong, violence to any, bring not a railing accusation, but wisely consider thy place and power : the Quakers have too just occasion of complaint against many, this I humbly advise, and for shewing thy zeal, it will be sufficient in thy place, and according to thy power that God hath intrusted thee withall to keep thy self and others from their tenets, wayes, companyes and persons, too many run into the Mouth of them, but keep thy ground where God hath set thee, and make use of the hands God hath given thee.

4. Stand and wonder] 1. At the corruption and deceitfulnesse of mans heart, 2. the subtilty of Satan, 3. and the severe judgement of a righteous God, they are tremenda, astonishing things. See you not how the Devil can change his shape, alter his tone, make use of Scripture, reveal sin, presse duty, ravish the affections, come as Christ and the spirit of God ? and all this but to deceive and destroy, and violently force the mortification of the body, that that way may be the destruction of the Soule : who knows his methods his depths ? he was a Serpent before a Lyon, and a Serpent still to deceive, that he may be a Lyon to tear. Again, what is man ? well educated, rightly principaled, far restrained yea, making a great shew of godlinesse, got almost in the eye of the world to the door of Heaven, yet  
when

## The Preface to the Reader.

when Offence is taken, Pride nourished, a Lust satisfied, a way fallen into, affections tickled, a party confederate, whether may not this man fall? into a Lust against light, sin against relations, Heresies against the foundations, Blasphemie against God, and setting up of himself equal to the Almighty. Lastly, all this of God, as a righteous avenger of all unrighteousnesse, who when he sees what men do not behold, and findes an opportunity most subservient to his glory, lets man lust to fall into the hands of his own heart, & into the power of his worst adversary, and then what a piece of provocation, instrument of mischief, and mirror of wonder doth he become?

5. Rise up and blesse God] If not fallen from the truth, if not decayed in thy spiritual life, if still attending on God in the use of his means, for further communion quickning and growth: who hath made thee differ? how comes this to passe, but by grace? that when others are fallen, thou shouldst stand, when others are gone off, thou shouldst go on; others waxing worse and worse, thou shouldst be coming better and better, thou hast the same Heart and the same Devil, but a better God, blesse his name for so great a blessing.

6. Walk with God] Remember whereunto thou art called, what thou dost professe, what God doth require. and be holy, give an evidence thy way is better then others, by appearing and being more holy, more heavenly, more charitable, more righteous, more circumspect then others; I have often read it with grief, what things the Quakers have charged upon the generality of people, their ignorance, their pride, their profanenesse, their earthly mindednesse drunkennesse swearing and uncleannesse; oh! you that hate the Quakers and their ways: that you would in this hear their voice, own your sins, save your Souls, and speedily and really mend your ways: is there any thing in those people and their tenets bad? and is there any thing good or not pleasing to God in such iniquities? hast thou in thy intemperate zeal  
a stone

## The Preface to the Reader.

a stone for them, and hast thou not in just indignation a stone to sling at thy own self, against thy own Sin? beest thou a notorious person? mend betime, the very Quakers in the streets cry out upon thee: art thou good? strive to be better, this is the way even to convince them, if not to witnesse to the truth, and hold others that they may not be seduced, I observe, many at first have too just offence given unto them, and then are the easier seduced, by a shew of sanctity: God keep us both from taking and giving offence. Farewell.

Domine Deus! quæcunque scripsi in his libris de tuo, agnoscant & tui; si quæ de meo & tu ignosce & tui. Amen.

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### Lib. 1. The Old Anabaptist. In Chapter 6.

- CHAP. I. The disposition of the peop<sup>e</sup> that embraced Anabaptism: the Reformed Religion cleared from any society with it.  
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X. Shewing how they introduce Popery, and some of their passages dangerous to States.  
XI. Of publick proceedings against them.

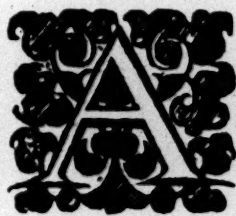


*The old* ANABAPTIST:  
OR,  
A Short History  
OF THE  
ANABAPTISTS  
IN  
GERMANIE.  
LIB. I.

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CHAP. I.

*The disposition of the people that embraced Anabaptism. The Reformed Religion cleared from any societie with it.*



S in a hot Summers day, many times there riseth a great mist with the Sun-rising; the like comes to pass at the rising of the Sun of righteousness. Since the days of the Apostles, that Sun never shone with more brightness and vigour then in *Luther's* beginnings; but it seemeth that this very strength of the Sun-shine of the Truth  
B which



which dispelled the dark night of Popery, raised the foul mist of *Anabaptism*; which sinister effect must not be ascribed to the nature of the Truth, but to the indisposition of the several subjects not capable to receive it; for where the Gospel meeteth with the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit (which yet is the work of Grace, not Nature) it first enlightneth the understanding, and then

(a) *Sua-  
viter &  
semiter.  
Aug.*

(a) sweetly perswadeth the Will, and warmeth the Affections; but meeting with weak and turbulent natures, made so by corruption, whose judgment is all passion, it fills them with a wild-fire zeal, and that precious liquor turns into vinegar being poured into such unclean vessels.

This was seen in the common people of *Germanie*, *Low-Countries*, and *Switzerland*, whose souls were as coarse as their condition; for no sooner had *Luther* and *Zwinglius* began to preach the true Gospel, but the people made to themselves a new Gospel of licentiousness and rebellion, which produced such furious effects, that it was like to have strangled the true Gospel in its cradle: And it seemed that God, angry at the wilful blindness of the world that loved darkness rather than light, had prepared a worm to strike that Gourd the next day after its sudden happy rising.

But God would not suffer the good to be overcome with evil, but overcame the evil with good; for *Anabaptism* lasted not in its strength above ten years, and ever since (till of late in *England*) hath been only buzzing in obscure corners, like a Wasp that hath lost its sting. Whereas the true Religion,  
not-

notwithstanding the many persecutions of the world and all the craft of Satan, gets life (b) by her wounds, and hath given to the *Romish* beast that deadly blow, of which she shall bleed till she die, *hæret lateri lethalis arundo.* (b) *Sanguis martyrum semina Ecclesie.*

But because the Papists shall not ascribe (as they use) those fictions and rebellions to the Reformation, it will be requisite to observe what were the dispositions of the Commons of High and Low Germany, a little before *Luther* began to oppose the Pope.

*Tri hemius Abbas Usspergensis*, in his Chronicle of the year 1503. relateth, that in that year arose a great sedition of Peasants about *Bruxels*, which he calleth *Liga Sotularia*; They were sworn to these Articles, To shake off the yoke of all higher Powers, (c) and get liberty by force of Arms like the *Switzers*; To pull down all Magistrates, and kill all that should stand against them; To seize on the City of *Bruxels*, and invade the Marquisate of *Batum nonden*; To seize on all the revenues of Monasteries, (d) Churches and Clergy-men; To stay no where above 24. hours; (e) but go forward still, till they had brought many Countries to their society; To pay no more Tithes, nor Lords rents, nor Tributes: Whosoever was received into that League, was to say five times a day on his knees (f) a *Pater* and an *Ave*, for the good success of their enterprise; and their word of cognisance was the *Virgin Mary* and Saint *John* the Evangelist. But that League (c) A thing attempted and tantum non effected in England this last year; (d) As some would the Tithes of England to pay the Souldiery.

(e) And how great and many mutations in England in one year. (f) whose finger here?

went but a little way, being timely stopt, and the Authors put to death by *Maximilian* their Prince. Compare these Articles with those of the *Anabaptists* 30 years after in the same Country, you shall find them the same, and both varnished over with

(g) Religion: All the difference was that the *Sotularians* kept in their old heresie, and the *Anabaptists* broached a new one: I hope the Papists will not impute that sedition to the Reformation, no more than the intraged rebellions of the *Gantois* against their Sovereigns; for both were rank Papists: The true cause then must be ascribed to the mutinous humor of that Nation, which afterwards was made worse by the cruel domination of the *Spaniard*; so that when Reformation came, and shook off the yoke of Popery, the discontented Commons took occasion (by wresting and corrupting the holy Doctrine) to shake off the yoke of their hard masters, and turned the spiritual liberty of the Gospel, into carnal licentiousness.

(b) A  
warning  
to Go-  
vernours  
to rule  
well,  
lest the  
horse  
throw  
his rider

The like reason must be given for the *Anabaptistical* commotions in High *Germany*; for in *Luthers* time, and before, the lower sort of people were extremely (b) oppressed by the Princes, Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the Empire, which made *Luther* to write about it to all the Princes, Anno 1525. to dehort them from their infinite exactions, and exhort them for Gods sake and for their own peace and safety, to use their Subjects and Tenants like men, not like beasts made for the yoke and the slaughter; If *Anabaptism*, being a doctrine of licentiousness and libertinage, was readily

# Cap. I. ANABAPTISM.

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dily imbraced by a multitude that groaned under a miserable bondage, none needs to wonder.

As for the *Switzers*, their popular State, together with the contagion of the neighbouring *Germany*, made way for that popular doctrine, 200 years before they had killed or ejected all their Nobility, by whom they were heavily oppressed: And now the lower sort of people being bred in an (i) ancient hatred against Superiors, imbraced that (i) Be- doctrine greedily, which armed the Commons ware of that ill humour that it against their Magistrates. sect'e

But it must be acknowledged to the praise of that State, that the Ecclesiastical and Political body opposed *Anabaptism* with great vertue and vigor, not with and so justified to the world that they were as us. great enemies to confusion as their forefathers had been to oppression.

To clear the Reformed Religion from that wicked imputation, that it gave countenance to these rebellions and new doctrines, the *Anabaptists* will serve; for they hated *Luther* worse than the (k) Pope, and troubled the Evangeliques more (k) So than the Papists; And when they would insinuate the Qua- themselves into the Reformed States, with a seeming familiarity, they had but rough entertainment among them, *Familiares accipere haud familiariter*. *ne quid durius dicam.* What conferences past between them, and what pains the Reformed took to confute them, the lasting Monuments will shew, which are extant in the writings of *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Melancthon*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Lavaterus*, *Bullinger*, *Ursinus* and *Gastio*.



## CHAP. II.

*The first occasions and seeds of Anabaptism, The insurrection of Muncer, and Phifer.*

(a) Some  
with us  
would  
pull  
down  
Churches and  
all.

**I**N the year 1521 *Luther* being proscribed by *Charles* the 5. Emperor, was secretly conveyed away out of *Wittemberg*, by *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*. In his absence *Andreas Carolostadius* one of the Ministers of *Wittemberg*, began to preach some new doctrines of his own, and being a passionate man, stirred the people to pull down (a) Images out of Churches in a tumultuous manner. *Luther* for that chief reason being called to *Wittemberg* again by his friends, condemned the proceedings of *Carolostadius*, saying, That although himself hated Images, and wisht them abolished, yet it ought to have been done orderly, removing them first out of the minds of the people, and teaching them that by Faith only we please God, and that Images are of no use in Religion: That the Consciences being thus informed and settled, Images would fall down of themselves: Also that when Images should be removed, he would have it done by the Magistrate, not by a popular sedition, holding it a matter of dangerous consequence to set the people on work about any publique action, which should be done by the hand of Authority.

About the same time a new Sect was springing in *Saxony*, of some fanatical people, boasting that they



## Cap. 2. ANABAPTISM.

7

they talked with God, and (b) God with them, who (b) En-  
commanded them to kill all the wicked and make a thufiasts.  
new World, wherein the innocent and godly should  
live and reign alone; of which opinion *Carlostadius*  
was either the author or the abettor: And when he  
could not get that doctrine received at *Witten-*  
*berg*, where *Luther* was too strong for him, he left  
*Wittenberg*, and resorted to these new brethren.

It is hard to say whether *Carlostadius* or one  
*Nicholas Stock*, was the first founder of *Anaba-*  
*pism*. *Melancthon* saith that *Nicholas Stock* was  
he that began. He would say that God spake to  
him by an (c) Angel, and revealed him his will in (c) So  
dreams, promising him the place of the Angel *Ge-* Maho-  
 *Gabriel*, and the Empire of the World. He taught mer.  
that the Saints must reign in the World, and that  
he must be their leader, to kill all the Kings and  
Princes of the World, and repurge the Church:  
He took upon him to have the gift of discerning  
the Spirits, and know the Elect; he made holiness  
to consist in speaking little, and living homely and  
(d) fordidly.

In that mans school was *Thomas Munzer* bred, (d) Our  
who amplified much his Masters doctrine. He be- Quakers  
gan to preach at *Alset* a City in the borders of fordid  
*Thuringia*, belonging to the Elector of *Saxony*; great enough,  
teaching that the burden of the Pope was too hea- but  
vy, and that of *Luther* too light; that his consorts great  
must have a new Baptism; That Christians must talkers.  
be of an austere countenance, speak little and wear  
long beards; This he calls the cross and the mor-  
tification of the flesh: Also that they ought to

retire into desarts or private places, there to think of God, and ask him signs, whether he think of them, and whether they be in the right Religion: He ascribed much unto dreams, saying that God declareth his will that way, and praised openly in his Sermons such as had dreamed a dream that bore some explication.

Anno  
1525.

In that City of *Alstet* he began first to make a confederacie, administring an Oath and taking the names of all them that promised to assist him in his design of killing all the ungodly Princes and Magistrates, and erecting new ones in their places. So long as he was content to preach of dreams and the like matters of less consequence, *Frederick* Elector of *Saxony* bore with him; but when he began to preach sedition, he banished him out of his dominions: And he having lyeen hid some months, came to *Nurenberg*, and being driven thence also, came to *Mulhus*, a town of *Thuringia*, where many of his old Disciples when he was at *Alstet*, resorted to him again.

(e) To  
preach  
without  
an ordi-  
nary cal-  
ling, is  
with  
such the  
ordinary  
way.

*Luther* hearing of this, writes to the Magistrates and Senate of the Town, that they should not harbour *Muncer*, as they loved their own safety, describing withall the mans doctrine and conditions, and exhorting them to ask *Muncer* who had given him authority to preach, and if he could shew no (e) ordinary calling, that then they should eject him. The Senate of *Mulhus* needed not many perswasions, for they liked not that new ghest: But *Muncer* was too quick for them, for he so wrought upon the people in a short time, that they

they put down the Magistrates and set others in their place of their own faction. Not long after they drave the Fryars away, and seized on their houses, of which the best was given to *Muncer*, who bore himself no more as a meer Preacher, but as a Senator; for he judged of all things out of the Bible and (f) Divine revelations; and whatsoever he determined was received as an Oracle; especially when he preached that all goods must be common; (g) and all men free and of equal dignity: An acceptable doctrine in those parts where the Nobility and Gentry used their Tenants and Vassals like slaves, and oppressed them with multitude of impositions and services. No wonder if that new Gospel won the meanest sort, who presently left working, and what they wanted they took by open force from them that had it.

(b) At the same time in *Suevia*, and *Franconia*, 40000 Boors and Tradesmen rose up in arms, killed and rancked great part of the Nobles, took, pillaged and burnt many Forts and Castles, overthrowing all in their way like a sudden inundation; for when the banks of Authority are once beaten down, nothing can stop the popular fury, till they lose themselves in their own confusion (i).

*Muncer* then thought it was time for him to do the like; he layeth up abundance of Ammunition, maketh his Magazine in the Covent of *Franciscans*, casteth artillery, raiseth a numerous multitude of men, the mean People leaving their loom and their plough, to turn venturers in this holy war.

His chief associate was *Phifer*, one that gave much

(f) *Verbum scriptum, et non scriptum, Thus far Papists.*  
(g) *Levellers.*

(b) *Prevention of bloodshed, a wonder in England.*

(i) *Probatum, sed non approbatum.*

much credence to dreams and night visions, and among other Visions, would say, that he had seen in his dream a great company of Rats in a Stable, and had driven them all away; Which he interpreted as a command from God to take arms and dispossess all the Nobility and Gentry: This *Phifer* was the stouter of the two, for although *Muncer* was vehement in his Sermons to the people, yet he would not try the hazard of a battel, till all the neighbouring Countries were joyned with him. To which end he sent divers Letters to the diggers of Mines, of which the County of *Mansfield* is full, exhorting them seriously to fall upon their Princes and cut them off, that so his Partie in *Franconia*, which looked but for his call, might have a free passage into *Thuringia*; But *Phifer* impatient of delays, rusheth into the Country of *Isfield*, pillageth Castles and Churches, destroyeth many of the Nobles, brings some of them bound, and returneth with a great booty; which success raised the minds of the Boors, and caused another defection in the County of *Mansfield*. So *Muncer* hoping that the Rebellion was universal, taketh his journey from *Mulhus*, and is presently supplied with a company of *Frankhusians*.

But before this Snow-ball could grow by rolling, the Count *Mansfield* stopt its course; for having raised in haste some Companies of Horse, he falls upon *Muncer*, and killeth two hundred of his men, at which the rude unexperienced Boors were so terrified, that they all fled away to *Frankhus*, there to expect a greater supply, though they were men  
enough,



enough, but (as it seems) Souldiers few or none. This only skirmish broke the edge of their fury, and gave time to *John* Elector of *Saxonie* (newly come to that dignity, by the death of his brother *Frederick*) and his Uncle *George* of *Saxonie*, *Philip* Landgrave of *Hesse*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick*, to raise fifteen hundred Horse and a few Companies of Infantry.

The Boors were pitched upon a hill by *Frankhus*, pretty well intrenched within their own Carts, but very ill armed, and worse disciplined. The Princes, though slenderly attended, contemned, and pitied together that rude troop, and sent to offer them impunitie and a general pardon, if they would but yeild the authors of the sedition and return home: But *Muncer* understood not that Gospel, that one man should die for the Nation. He falls to preaching, and expounds that solicitation of the Princes, as an argument of their weakness and fearfulness; Tels the Boors that he was sent from God to command and lead them in this action: That their part was to obey like *Abraham*, who being commanded to kill his son, went about it, though he was uncertain of the event; That they should certainly overthrow both these and all other enemies of God, it being Gods promise that the righteous shall wash his foot in the blood of the wicked, and that the meek shall inherit the earth; (k) That these Princes were but Tyrants and Theeves, sucking the blood of the people, to live at ease and maintain their pride and wantonness; That they maintained the Mass, and therefore deserved to be

(k) Go- vernours  
oppress-  
ions first  
or last  
the cause  
of many  
mischiefs



(1) The  
Devil is  
Prince  
of the  
air, Eph.  
2. 2. αἰ-  
ρων ὁ  
ἐξουίας  
τοῦ αἵματος.

be exterminated: Then he exhorted them to be valiant in the Lord, and kill every mothers son of their enemies, for an acceptable sacrifice unto God; assuring them that God himself that cannot lye, had promised him victory, and commanded him to destroy Princes and Magistrates, endowing him with such strength that he was able to turn all their bullets back with his coat; Hereupon perceiving a Rain-bow in the (1) Skie, and turning his eyes towards his Colours, where a Rain-bow was painted; Look up (said he) to Heaven, here is for you a joyful sign of Gods favour, that Rain-bow the very emblem of our Colours; and be sure that God promisetht us that he will be our Standard-bearer and fight for us himself; Come then let's fight valiantly under Gods Standard.

(m) Men  
of disorder  
cannot keep  
order.

That new piece of imposture made a strong impression in some. Yet the Princes drawing near with a warlick march, made a stronger impression of fear in these rude Souldiers, than *Muncers* revelations and signs; for the Princes were incensed by a late cruel treachery of *Muncer*, who had put to death against the Law of Arms and Nations, a hopefull young Gentleman sent to him to treat of agreement. The Princes began to play with their Ordnance. I cannot say to (m) break, the ranks of the Boors, for they keep neither Rank nor File, and scarce keep their understanding, for they neither advanced, nor fled, nor put themselves in defence, but fell a singing, *Come Holy Ghost*, expecting that God should fight for them from Heaven, according to *Muncer's* promise: But when their in-

trench-

trenchments of Carts was broken, and the Princes army came to handy blows, away fled all the boors, some one way, some another, but the most part to *Frankhus*; 5000 of them were slain, *Frankhus* taken the same day, and 300 men taken and executed.

*Muncer* was found hid at *Frankhus*, and lying on a bed feigning himself to be one of the Town that had been long sick of an ague, which his quaking for fear did imitate to the life; but letters being found about him from *Albert of Mansfeld*, to dissuade him from his seditious courses, he was known to be *Muncer*, which yet this lying Prophet denied long.

Being brought before Duke *George of Saxony*, and the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, and demanded why he misled the simple people to sedition; He answered that he had done no more than his duty; and that Magistrates that receive not the doctrine of the Gospel, must be dealt with by such wayes: These reasons of his were confuted by the Rack, where when he cryed out, Duke *George* told him, Thou sufferest now *Muncer*; but think how many poor people have suffered by thee this day; At which *Muncer* laughed aloud and said, *Why, they would have it so*, meaning that the people loved to be cozened and misled, and that nothing could win their hearts but sedition.

Shortly after *Phifer* and other heads of the rebellion were executed at *Mulhus*, and *Muncer* a while after, who shewed a great deal of dejection and perturbation in his end, and could not so much

(n) The  
magi-  
strates  
sword by  
Gods  
blessing  
may do  
good;  
Babylons  
prison  
made  
Manassch  
fitter for  
a Throne.

as make confession of his Faith, with much ado could he speak after the Duke of *Brunswick* who taught him what he should say; Yet when he was ready to be executed, he (n) acknowledged his error openly, and made an exhortation to the Princes and Nobles, to use their subjects and vassals with more moderation; which if they did, the people would break no more into such rebellions and outrages; he desired them diligently to read the book of Kings, there to learn their duty, and Gods judgements against unjustice and oppression. He was beheaded, and his head set on a high pole in the fields.

In the mean while *Luther*, because he was defamed by the Papists, as the author or occasion of those troubles, was sending godly exhortations over all *Germany*, to exhort the commons to peace and obedience to their Superiours, and rather to suffer for righteousness, then defend the Truth with unrighteousness, and that this was the Devils cunning to raise sedition by false brethren, to bring the Truth of God into hatred and obloquie.

And to the commons of *Suevia*, that had been up in armes before *Muncer*, and continued still in rebellion, he writ a grave admonition, representing that although they were oppressed by their Princes, who therefore deserved to be punished, yet it belonged not to them to do the execution;

(o) The  
Judge  
must  
hang a  
Thief; and  
he law-  
fully  
commis-  
sioned.

(o) That they must not believe the Sermons of every preacher; for Satan (saith he) under colour of the Gospel hath in these times raised many seditious and bloody teachers; You are oppressed by your

your Superiours that take your estates from you, *nota bend.*  
 that do unjustly; but you do more unjustly to take  
 that Jurisdiction from them which is none of yours;  
 And whereas they take but few things from you by  
 exactions and too great burdens, you take all from  
 them when you take away their authority: Is this  
 obeying Christ who commands us not to resist evil,  
 but to him that striketh us on the one cheek to turn  
 the other, and let him that will take our Coate, to  
 take our Clock also? Nay, it is the duty of Christi-  
 ans to suffer and undergo the Cross, not to resist  
 and seek revenge and smite with the sword; When  
*Peter* would fight to save his Master, a lawfull de-  
 fence if ever was any, He bids him not to strike with  
 the sword, because that striking was opposing the  
 Magistrate for a private revenge; and to such op-  
 posers of the Magistrate that Sentence belongeth,  
 They that strike with the sword, shall perish with  
 the sword: But I perceive the Devils plot, that since  
 he could not destroy me by the Pope, he seeks to  
 undo me by these violent bloud-thirsty preachers:

(p) And do you take heed of them, for they cast (p) Any  
 you headlong into a precipice, that they may rise *way so it*  
 by your fall, and get honors and dignities with *be done,*  
 your perill. *pleases*  
*him.*

That *Suevian* Rebellion was soon after suppress-  
 partly by the vigorous opposition of the Princes,  
 partly by their own weariness and disorder, the  
 limbs of that faction dropping off here and there,  
 like a rotten carkase that can no longer hang to-  
 gether. (q)

(q) *Malum*  
*malum de-*

*fruit.* Snared in the work of his own hands, *Psal.* 9. 16.

*Mancer*



*Muncer* and his associates being punish'd, *Carolo-stadius* was not far from the like danger; for having left *Wittemberg* where he feared *Luther*, he kept conventicles in *Saxony*, associating himself with frantick men that boasted of Visions, and Colloquies with God, and a particular spirit; There also he writ a bitter book against *Luther*, and against his own Prince, for which misdemeanours he was sought to be executed with *Muncer's* complices; In that extreamity he called upon *Luther's* help, whom he had so much provoked, and was saved by his intercession. (r)

(r) Heroick,

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CHAP. III.

*The growth of Anabaptisme, The Tragical disorders committed at Munster.*

THE root and branch of fanatical factions seemed then to be cut off, but the seeds remained, and brought forth many new twigs of the same kinde: Presently after *Muncer*, one of greater learning and parts, began to preach the same doctrine at *Strasburg*, and was imprisoned for it by the Rulers of the City; his name was *Melchior Hopman*: And scarce two years after *Muncer*, *Germany* was full (a) of *Anabaptists*; A new name then, but in effect the old sect of *Muncer*, with some additions. (b) They denyed the incarnation of Christ in the holy Virgins womb, condemned the

Anno  
1527.

(a) Ill  
weeds  
grow  
apace.

(b) There is a resurrection of error as well as of truth.

Baptism

Baptisme of Children, and re-baptized themselves, and all that embraced their sect: They would not allow Christians to recover their own by Law, nor to take an Oath, nor bear the Office of Magistrate, and they pulled down Magistrates by way of fact where they had strength, and gave the power of the sword to their Ministers and Prophets, who decided all differences, and judged of all cases by Scripture, and undertook to kill all the Princes of the World, and cut off all the ungodly with another sword than that of the Spirit: They taught that in their Church all were holy, that none can be saved that will not make his private goods common, that it is lawfull to have many wives, that all learning is prophane, and that mean ignorant men are the fittest to expound Scripture, that there must be no ordinary calling in the Church, but every one may speak as he is inspired by the Holy Ghost; that Christ must reign over all the World, and therefore all other Kings and Princes, and their adherents must be slain, till there be none left to reign but Christ; and what they taught they went really about to practise.

*Melchior Hopman* being kept prisoner at *Strasburg*, and his Sect severely repress by the wise Magistrate; that crew dispersed it self in *Westphalia*, *Frise*, *Holland*, and most part of the *Low Countreys*; where they got a very great party, yet among the common sort of people onely. *Lambertus Hertensius* one of my Authors affirmeth confidently, that among that numerous rabble of seditious people, not one was found that ever was a Schollar, and

very few that could read or write. When they were confuted by reasons or testimonies of Scripture, their answer was, that the Spirit taught them otherwise, and that the Spirit bloweth where he listeth, and doth not inspire every one.

These fancies were increased by one *George of Leyden*; with many gross and monstrous Additions: The sect by his seduction in short time grew so strong, as to despise all Rule, all Judges, and all Courts, and chuse private Rulers among themselves, who determined of all causes, and sate upon life and death.

But their rage could not keep long at home; They would sometimes rush out of Cities in great troops, and ransack Convents and Rich mens houses, taking for their warrant the example of the Israelites, that took the spoyle of the Egyptians: Yet in these incursions they made Conscience at the first to enter into any Temple of those that were not re-baptized, but made no conscience to lye with their wives as left for a prey to the godly.

This was their preparation for the day of Judgment, about which they had many revelations: One of their Prophets proclaimed that within three days the last judgment should come (c); This made many of them to leave their houses, and get up into high trees there to expect the Coming of Christ; but having expected three days fasting, they returned faint and weak, and met with another Judgment at home; for the Magistrate inquired after the Authors and promoters of that delusion, and punished them.

Of all Cities of the *Low-Countries*, *Amsterdam* was most pestered with that sect, the great concourse and traffick giving them fair opportunity to resort to that famous place: Where being many times repress't with fines and imprisonments and whole-some severity, they would disperse themselves over the Country, filling all with clamour, scattering papers in the high ways, threatning ruine and destruction to all that would not adhere to them, and leave lands and houses to come out of *Babylon*; for *Babylon* they would overthrow; and within the circuit of *Babylon*, they included all Magistracy and Civil Government, and all wealth and greatness; A great quarrel they had with the *Babylonian Gold*.

But the whole World was little enough for their ambition. It was their serious intent to make themselves masters of the World, which they both professed and attempted, beginning their Empire at *Munster in Westphalia*.

It grieveth me to say that in *Munster*, truth made way for error: For in the year 1532, one *Bernard Ratman* came to *S. Maurice Church* hard by *Munster*, where he preached good doctrine and converted many, so that the people would have him admitted into the City; Which the Papists fearing, gave him a summe of Money, upon condition he should go to some other place, which he did, and absented himself for some months, in which time he improved his gifts and learning, and returned again better furnisht to encounter the adversary.



Being received at Saint *Maurice* with greater applause than before, some Citizens of the best sort brought him into the City, and because the Church doors were shut against him they made him a Pulpit in the Church-yard, and shortly after told the Papists, that if they would not open the door of some Church, they would open it themselves. *Rotman* seeing the progress of the Reformation, sends to *Hasse* for some help, and they sent to him two Divines of *Marpurg*; With these by the counsel and authority of the best in the Town, he challenged Papists in dispute, and presented thirty Articles of Papistical errors to the Senate, offering to prove that they were contrary to holy Scripture: The Senate sends for the Clergy of the City, and requireth them that since they had always profest that their doctrine was grounded upon holy Writ, they would now make it good: The Clergy finding themselves unexpectedly put to it, answered plainly that it was more than they could, and that they were sure they had a good intention, though there might be ignorance and error in their profession (d): Whereupon the Senate interdicted them to teach the People any more, and gave their places to the new teachers that had detected the impostures of the old.

(d) *Ignorantia  
mater de-  
votionis.*

The expelled Clergy retire to their Bishop and Prince, (for the Bishop of *Munster* is Prince of the City.) The then Bishop was Count *Francis Waldeck*, to whom *Frederick* Archbishop of *Collen* had lately yeilded the place. The Bishop presently stops all the passages of Victuals to the City, and raiseth

raiseth some forces to compel the Citizens to restore all things in the former State. But the Citizens by a night enterprize, took his best men, and the richest of the Popish party lying in a little Town, whence the Bishop was gone the day before: This gave occasion to parley and a Composition, by the mediation of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, wherein it was agreed upon, that six Churches should be given to the Reformed party, and that the Cathedral should remain as it was before. This agreement was made

Hitherto all was well, if it could have staid there; But before the swinge of the former commotion was well staid, there comes to the Town in an ill hour, a pestilent *Anabaptist*, a Taylor of *Leyden*, *John Becold*, better known by the name of *John of Leyden*: Feb. 14. 1538.

This man begins to confer with Ministers and People, about the Baptism of Children, maintaining it to be unlawful, seducing many, and sowing the new Lump of that Church with the Leaven of his perverss doctrine: with him or presently after him came a very great multitude of his fraternity, most of them *Hollanders*. These keeping conventicles in the night, got a great party in the City, and incensed one another with desperate resolutions. They had with them one *Herman Strapeda*, brought up under *Henry Rell*, who had been lately executed at *Utrecht*, for preaching *Anabaptism* and sedition; At the feet of that *Gamaliel*, one may think what doctrine he had learned: This man they got to be chosen colleague to *Rotman*, before his heresie was known; but he made it known presently preaching openly against

the Baptism of children, and none more eager to oppose him than *Rotman*: The Magistrates and people not yet infected with that new doctrine, feeling so much distraction arising among themselves, commanded the Forreiners and Sectaries to go out of the City; but they went out at one gate, and came in again at the other, saying, that they must not desert Gods cause, but do the work which God had given them to do: The Senate to prevent a sedition, appointed the *Evangelicks* and the *Anabaptists* to meet in a publick Conference; and there *Rotman* betrayed the good cause, and disputed contrary to his preaching, condemning the baptism of children as impious and execrable; But he was so well opposed by a worthy Divine *Hermannus Basilus*, that the Senate was satisfied, and concluded for the Truth, and the Teachers *Anabaptists* were sentenced to be banished: Who when they alleaged that they could not safely travel through the Bishops dominions, the Senate obtained a safe conduct for them, & gave them money for their journey. But they being resolved before not to go away, lay lurking among their Sectaries, which increased so fast, (the mean people of the Town being seduced every day, and strangers flocking to the Town continually in great troops) that the Magistrates fearing lest the *Anabaptists* should drive the *Evangelicks* out of their Churches, kept all the Churches shut up but one.

In this distressed case of their Church and State, the Lantgrave of *Hesse* sent them at the request of the Senate, two Divines, *Theodoricus Fabricius*, and

and *Johannes Melsingeries*; But the last seeing the deplorable face of busineses in that place, and fearing his own danger, returned home: *Fabritius* remained, and among so much contradiction discharged the part of a worthy champion of Jesus Christ, till the *Anabaptists* having got the upper hand, thrust him and all the *Evangelicks* out of the City. And to set a bound to the unlimited extravagancie of the Anabaptistical spirit, he composed a book of *Common-prayers*, with the Form of administring the Sacraments and performing other Ecclesiastical duties, and it was published by the authority of the Senate.

There was also another worthy Divine, *Peter Wirtem*, who having been silenced by the *Anabaptists*, was now by the Senate and people allowed to preach again: But he was no Preacher for the new brethren; they turned him out of office presently, at the instigation of *Rotman*, who soon after provoked *Fabritius* and his colleagues to dispute: *Fabritius* accepted the challenge, and the Senate appointed a Conference, naming some learned and good men to be the Umpires; But *Rotman* and his brethren fearing the Touch, began to find exceptions and devise shifts to avoid the dispute, whereby they lost much credit among the people.

To wipe off that stain, they took a more compendious course: One of them feigning himself seized with a Prophetical spirit ran through the (c) City, crying, Repent, and be baptized again, new  
(c) No  
else the wrath of God will fall upon you: This thing.



(f) Interest  
their  
God.

stirred the people, and many ran also with him, crying the same words: Many of the simpler sort were rebaptized for fear of the wrath of God, and many more for fear of the wrath of men (f): For this crying and running through the streets, ended in ransacking the best houses, and laying violent hands on the owners. Then many that lay hid before, came forth, and rushed into the Market place, crying out, that all that were not rebaptized must be killed presently, as Ungodly and Heathen; And seizing upon the Town-House and the weapons therein, they began to domineer as in a conquered place.

The *Evangeliques* on the other side gathered themselves in a place called *Overwater*, and took many of their enemies, and both the sides were fortifying the places where they stood: Three days they stood thus without doing any great harm one to the other, till giving hostages on both sides, they fell to a composition; That every one should enjoy the freedom of his Religion, and all should go home and live in peace. This tumult was towards the end of *Decemb. 1533.*

Anno  
1534.

But this composition gave but time to the *Anabaptists* to strengthen their party; for *Rotman* and *Bernard Knipperdelling*, the most stirring of that faction, sent letters to the Towns of *Osnburg, Wesel, Corfweld* and *Warendorp*, of which the tenour was,

(g) They  
that have  
least, oft  
pretend  
most.

that God had sent an holy Prophet (g) to *Munster*, who spake wonders, and shewed the right way to Salvation: That if they would leave their houses and come to *Munster* in all haste, they should

should get ten times more then they left at home, and with the spiritual wealth get all worldly riches (h).

These fair promises drew all the sum of the neighbouring Towns to *Munster*, the poorest and idlest fort liking that Religion well, that maketh all men alike and all goods common, and puts down those Laws and Magistrates that refrained their licentiousness. In a short time the City was full of strangers and vagrants that looked upon the City as a Land of Promise, where they must take a new plantation, and expulse the *Canaanites*. At their coming the richest of the Town, being frightened, thought it their safest course, fairly and quietly to give them place, and without noise withdrew themselves out of the City.

The *Anabaptists* seeing themselves strong, ran to Saint *Maurice* Church and burnt it with all the houses about it, pillaged all the Churches, defaced the Cathedral, depopulated the Convents and Colledges, and burnt a fair great Library belonging to the Fryers; And for the final exploit, drove all the *Evangeliques* out of the City, but some few (whom they mistook for *Anabaptists*) crying, Get hence all ye wicked, else you shall all be slain. And with such a violence they put them out, that some women great with child miscarried in the tumult.

In this banishment the grieved Citizens suffered double persecution; for being turned out bare by the *Anabaptists*, they were taken by the Bishop (i), who the day before had encamped before the City, and

(b) If  
sinners  
intice,  
consent  
you not,  
Prov. I.  
10, &c.  
וְאִם  
חַטָּאִים  
יִתְּצִי  
וְאִם  
חַטָּאִים  
יִתְּצִי

(i) In ex-  
tremis  
nulla  
sua.

and by him used as enemies: some were in danger to have lost their heads, as the worthy Divine *Peter Wirtem*, who was saved by the mediation of the Lantgrave of *Hessen*. This forced the rest of the *Evangelicks* to stay in the City, though there was little choice between staying in the frying-pan, or leaping into the fire.

And now the *Anabaptists* being Masters of the City, began to order their new State; for though they were enemies to all Superiority and Order, yet necessity and Nature it self forced them to elect some Superiours of their own. They made two Consuls, *Knipperdolling* and *Kippenbrok*, and twenty two Senators or Aldermen, that had the Civil power. The Prophets were to rule matters of Re-

(k) In ordine ad spiritua-  
lia. Bell.

ligion, under which name they governed Church and Common-wealth; (k) for all civil matters were brought within the compass of Religion and Conscience, and whatsoever a Prophet said to be revealed unto him, past for Law.

The most famous of these Prophets was *John Matthias*, a Baker of *Harlem*, who was in effect a perpetual Dictator in *Munster*, that made Laws and changed them after his pleasure: By him was the foresaid Order made; His chief adjunct was *John of Leyden*, and the next *Bern. Knipperdolling*. By a revelation of *John Matthias*, an order was made upon pain of death, that all the gold and silver and moveable goods of the Town should be brought to the common Stock, for which they appointed a publick house: The order was obeyed, more for fear then conscience, for two maids / Pro-  
phetesses

(l) The Devil knows how to make good use of bad women.

phetesses, took upon them to find out the fraud, and the several houses were searched by a Deacon; To that common Stock were brought all the goods of those that were driven out of the City.

With that common Stock they kept four great Ordinaries in the four quarters of the Town, where all fed in common, none being allowed to diet at home, unless he were sick: Plenty of provision they had, and they husbanded it very ill, feasting every day till the Bishop that besieged them, began to cut off their victuals, and then they stinted themselves, but with too large a stint, which was to have change of meat every third day, one day fresh meat, the other day hung meat and bacon, and the third day milk, butter and cheese.

I read of no great feats of arms in this siege. Once only the Bishop received a notable repulse by *John Matthias*, who was a General as well as a Prophet; With easie labour he had so fortified the Town, which is most strong by Nature, that he had made it impregnable, so that the Bishop despairing to take it by force, went about to take it by famine. Indeed the negligence of the Besiegers and the security of the Besieged, are the only things remarkable in this siege.

The Prophets then neglecting the Bishop, converted their care to the spiritual government, and commanded that none should keep any book but <sup>(m)</sup> The Scripture: So all the books that could be found, but Bibles, <sup>(m)</sup> were brought to a publique place and a bonfire made of them.

From executing of books they fell to executing

*(m) The Bible was made of most a-bused of*



(n) Seducers grow worse & worse. of persons; (n) *Hubert Truteling* a Black-smith, seeing *Joh. Matthias* pass by, said, Here goeth a shitten (o) Prophet; For this offence he was brought to the Congregation and condemned to death: *John Matthias* would himself be the executioner, and wounded him with an Halbert; the wound being not shitten mortal, he brings him to another place and shoots him thorow with a pistoll, then taking compassion on him, he pardons him, saying, that God was appeased towards him, and that he had a revelation that the man should not die of this, yet the poor man died a few days after.

To make amends for his false prophesie, He runs in a mad mood over all the City, bearing a Pike, crying, that God the Father had commanded him to drive the enemy back from the City, and so rushed alone into the enemies camp, without fear and wit, (p) and was there killed.

(p) Every way mad. *John Matthias* being dead, *John* of *Leyden* comforteth the people, saying, that he knew long before by revelation that *John Matthias* was to die that death, & that himself should marry his wife (q), as he did shortly after, though he had one before; but this was one of singular beauty, able to make a lusty young Prophet to set up the doctrine of Polygamy.

But he fell to other work before he stirred that point; *Knipperdelling* came out with a revelation, that they that were in high places should be brought down to the lowest; & they that were in the lowest, raised to the highest (r). But *John* of *Leyden* met him in his own kind with another revelation, that since it was Gods pleasure that those that were in the highest

(r) They will turn a upside down.

Cap. 3. *The tragedy of Munster.*

29

est places should be brought down to the lowest, he was sent from God to put him down from the place of Consul, & make him the Hang-man, and to that purpose he gave him from God the sword of justice.

But there was need of more revelations for that great work of alteration of the government; *John of Leyden* was led by his propheticall spirit upon the City walls, where he put off his clothes, and ran naked through the City, crying, *The King of Sion is come, The King of Sion is come.* Then returning home, he falls into a deep propheticall sleep, and dreams three days and three nights together: Being awaked, he comes forth and speaketh never a word, but calleth by signs for a Table-book, like *Zechariah*. There he sets down twelve men, all Coblers, Tinkers, Smiths, and mean Tradesmen, but one that was a Gentleman of *Munster*; to these he assigneth the government of the Common-wealth, putting down the order set up by *John Matthias*, and affirming that this was the Fathers good will. In that paper also he writeth some conclusions, which he chargeth the preachers to teach the people; Or else he would have them ratified by the Congregation without the Preachers: The sum of all was, that a man is not tied to one wife, but that he may marry as many as he pleaseth. And when most of his Doctors would not approve of that monstrous paradox, he citeth them before his twelve Magistrates, and there he recovered his tongue, keeping a great clamor, throwing down his cloths upon the ground, and the new Testament upon them, and swearing by that holy book, that the doctrine which he had

announced,

(s) The old trade

(t) Filthy dreamers Jude 8.

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

(n) You are of ther the Devil.

(x) This is spiritu- ally the clean contrary way.

announced, was revealed unto him from Heaven, and threatening them all, that if they consented not to this doctrine, God would withdraw his mercy from them. To testifie his evidence of spirit and power, he commanded the first opposer of that new Gospel to be beheaded, which was done presently.

For three days together there was preaching concerning matrimony, for the confirmation of that opinion; But the best confirmation was his practice; for presently he married three wives, one of which was the relict of that grand Prophet *Job. Matthias*, by whom she was with child; and married again and again, till he had fifteen wives. Many followed his example, and it began to be a matter of great praise to multiply wives.

This seemeth to have been his first motive to broach that doctrine; A Souldier of the Bishops that had changed party, and was harboured where *John of Leyden* lay, observed in the night, that this holy Prophet left his bed, and went to the maids bed (y): *John of Leyden* seeing himself discovered, in the morning called the Souldier aside, and gave him gold, desiring him to keep his counsel: But after mistrusting the Souldiers tongue, he thought it fitter to countenance the fact by a (z) publick doctrine.

(y) D. f. f.  
ing the  
flesh.  
Jude 8.  
E. d. v. a.  
p. 1. 1. 1.  
(z) Fa.  
tioning  
their do  
ctrine to  
practise  
a new  
light.

This doctrine then was readily embraced by those whose age and temper was aptest to consult with flesh and blood; None restraining himself from multiplication of wives for want or covetousness; for their wives were kept upon the common-stock. Neither did they keep any face of Order or any shew of modesty in those marriages; for presentiy

sently after the receiving of that Law, the brethren ran to the handsomest women of the City, striving who should be served first, and lay with them without any form of contract, so that within few days there was not one woman of 14. years of age but was violated (a).

But those of the City that yet had some remnant of sound mind, being extreemly grieved with disorder, and groaning under that foul tyranny, made a party, and laid hold of *John of Leyden & Knipperdolling* and all the Prophets; which coming to the ears of the frantick rabble of people, which made the greatest number, they took arms and rescued the Prophets, and killed fifty of their adversaries, most of them in cold blood, and with several kinds of devised cruelties (b), *John of Leyden* encouraging the murtherers, and crying, that he that would do God service should give the first blow.

(a) 'O.

φθαλμὸς  
ἐχθρῶν  
μὲς ὅς  
μοιχαλίσ-  
δω.

2 Per 2.

14.

(b) Sc.  
ducers  
cruel.

CHAP. IV.

*Continuation of the siege of Munster, The reign of John of Leyden, The taking of Munster, The deserved punishment of the Rebels.*

**V** While they were thus wiving and striving in *Munster*, the Bishop had fair play, if he could have husbanded the occasion. Some weak attempts he made, with ill success, and having till then born the charges of the warr alone, he was afterwards assisted with men and money by *Herman* Archbishop of *Colen*, and *John* Prince of *Cleves*, and asked succour of all the Cities of the *Rhine*, about which



which demand there was a meeting appointed to be held at *Coblents*, Decemb. 13. 1534.

This long delay gave time to *John* of *Leyden* to project new designs; He declared that the Spirit of Propheſie was retired from him, and reposed upon *John Tuſcocurer* a Goldsmith of *Warendorp*; And this new Prophet having called the Congregation together, declared that it was the will of the hea-

(a) He wil cease to be a Prophet that he may be King.

venly Father that *John* of *Leyden* should be (a) King of the Universe; And that with mighty Armies he should kill all Kings and Princes, and destroy all the ungodly, and save the people that love righteousness, and that he must possess the Kingdom of his Father *David*, till the time come that he must deli-

(b) The height of blasphemmy.

ver the Kingdom to his Father (b); And that all the ungodly being killed, the godly should reign in the World. Whereupon *John* of *Leyden* fell on his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, said, Men and brethren, so much I knew long ago, but I would not reveal it; Now God hath made choice of another to bear witness to that truth. Then said *Tuſcocurer* again, Thus saith the Lord, As I set *Saul* to be King in *Israel*, and after him *David* taken from the Sheep-fold, so I have set *John* *Becold* my Prophet to be King in *Sin*: And when the Senate refused that prophesie, the Prophet refused the Senate, and appealed to the Congregation, saying, Give ear *Israel*,

(c) Simple men seduced, great agents for Satan.

Thou shalt abrogate thy Magistrates, and put down thy Preachers, and instead of them establish 12 simple men (c) without any learning; them thou shalt command that they read my word unto my people, and without any help but my spirit, expound it; into

into them will I pour the spirit of wisdom and understanding. Then giving a sword to *John of Leyden*, And to thee (saith he) Father *Becold*, the Father giveth this sword, and calleth thee not only to be King in *Sion*, but over all the World, and to extend thine Empire unto the ends of the earth.

This oracle was followed with great shoutings and acclamations of the people, crying, *God save the King*, and presently he was brought to *S. Lamberts Church-yard*; and there again proclaimed K.

There the new King created four Counsellors of State, the chief whereof was one *Gerard* a Book-binder, one *Talbeck* he made Lord Steward of his household, *Gerard Kippenbrok* Treasurer of his Plate and Jewels, *Knipperdolling* Governor of the City, and appointed twelve Archers of his Guard.

This Taylor King presently made use of his skill to make himself fine in clothes. He translated the copes and carpets of the Churches & convents, into dublets and breeches, and cloaks, which set off his Majesty all in gold and silver. His horses wore a suitable livery, richly harnessed with golden and silver Saddles and footcloths; he had great change of rich apparel, in which he appeared abroad, having his chief Officers and Counsellors riding before him in great State. Next to him rid two young men richly attired, the one carrying a naked sword with a golden hilt, set with precious stones; the other carried a Bible and a *triple Crown* of gold, of exquisite work, glittering with diamonds. Himself wore a great chain of gold about his neck, like a Coller of some noble Order, with a golden Globe

D

having

having a golden Sword thorough it, hanging at the chain, with this Motto about the Globe, *Rex justitiae hujus mundi*, the King of Righteousness of this world. After him followed fifty Pensioners clad with parti-coloured garments of ash-colour and grass-green, white caps, and golden rings on every finger, making the ash-colour an emblem of mortification, the grass-green of regeneration, the white caps of innocencie, the golden rings of charity: but among these propheticall riddles, he ordered his Court with so much State, and so disposed his Officers, that if he had been a King born, he could have done it no better. So much all his adversaries acknowledge. ✦

In that Royal array he shewed himself three times a week in publick, and went up to a high Throne set up with great magnificence: Under him sate *Knipperdolling* Governour of the City; and lower, his four great Counsellors of State. In that Court he ~~he~~ judged of all controversies, most of which were about divorces, for by his new orders any man that was weary of his wife might take another, & as many more as he listed; which could not but multiply suits, and give work to the new King, and his Counsellors, and Prophets.

In that Court *Knipperdolling* would ever come out with some *Bedlam* rapture: Once he fell flat to the ground, and creeping upon his hands and feet, he went to several persons of the Assembly, and blowing them in the mouth, said, The Father hath sanctified thee, receive the holy Ghost; Another time he fell a dancing, saying, So I danc't once with  
my

**Cap. 3. The tragedy of Munster.**

35

my little harlot, and now the heavenly Father hath commanded me that I should dance so in the Kings presence: Another time before the King came, he sat in his chair of Majesty, and there prophesied that he should die and rise again, and that then the eyes of the blind should be open; But the King coming, shewed him that the spirits of the Prophets must be subject unto the Prophets, for he pulled him down and committed him to the Jail for three days.

This jolly Taylor having thus stitched up a kingdom in haste, turned his serious care to go thorow stitch with it: For that there was need of supply to remove the Bishop that hindered his work; And because all should be done in a Prophetical way, *Tuiscourer*, his chief agent, came to him (as it seems by his appointment) one day as he was sitting in his Throne with more than ordinary Majesty, and told him, King *John*, the Gospel must be renewed by thee; Thus saith the Lord God, Go and say to the King of *Sion*, that he prepare my holy Supper in the Church-yard of the great Church, and that he chuse Teachers of my word, to send into the four Quarters of the World, to teach all men the ways of righteousness, and bring them by the spirit of their mouth into my Sheepfold: so a publick Communion was celebrated, but they made it a full meal; A great feast (*r*) it was, both for the persons and the meat, for they were above four thousand men, and had three courses: But between these courses, there was a soul entercourse, for the King accused a man of Treason, and cut off his head with his own



s Edutus  
Troia-  
dotes.

t Quia ta-  
lia fando  
temperet  
a lachry-  
mâ!

x Where  
will they  
stop.

w Our  
Quakers  
have  
men  
every  
where.

x The  
Apostles  
dust  
more  
dread-  
ful then  
their  
gold.

hand, and returned merry to supper; Then with his bloody hand he took upon him to administer the body and blood of Christ (*s*), assisted with the Queen (sometime *John Matthias* his wife) who then did the office of the Minister or Deacon, and administered the Communion (*t*); the like did the principal officers of the State, saying, Take this and announce the Lords death.

After supper, the King asked the whole Congregation, whether they were all heartily disposed to do Gods Will, and to suffer and die for the faith; to which the people answered with one voice that they were all in that mind; then *Tuisccurer* arose and said, Thus saith the Lord, chuse men among my people, to send into the 4 quarters of the world, (*u*) to do great wonders among the nations, & publish my wonderous things among the strange people; then he read a note of the names of those whom God had chosen for that legation (*w*) of whom himself was one; they were 26. (*Sleydan* saith two more) 7 were sent to *Osnburge*, 6 to *Cocsweld*, 5 to *Warendorp*, 8 to *Suzat*; To them the King gave certain pieces of Gold, with this inscription on the one side, *Unless one be born by water and by the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* On the other side, *The Word was made flesh, one God, one Faith, one Baptism.* They were to present that coin to every Town where their doctrine was not received, and leave (*x*) it there for a Testimony against them.

These new Apostles went into the Cities where they were sent, crying in the streets that the people should

should repent, and join with them, else they should shortly perish. With that noise having raised a tumult, they were apprehended & brought to the Magistrates, before whom they spread a cloak upon the ground, and threw their coin upon it; saying, that they were sent by the Father to offer them peace, which if they refused, they would leave that coin amongst them as a pledge of Gods wrath against their ungratefulness and hardness of heart. That the time was come, foretold by the prophets, that the whole world should follow righteousness which God would work by their King, and when he had made righteousness to raigin over all the world, that then he should give up the Kingdom unto his Father.

Being questioned by the Magistrates, first with fair words, and after by tortures, about their faith, their conversation, and the state of the City of *Munster*, they answered that *none in the world but they (y)*, had the true Doctrine, which they were ready to seal *with their blood (z)*: that since the Apostles time the word of God had not been purely preached, and no justice was in the earth: That there was four great Prophets; two good, *David of Delft*, and *John of Leyden*; and two bad, the *Pope*, and *Luther*; but *Luther the worst of the two (a)*. Being asked by what Scripture they could justifie their unjust dispossessing of so many good men from their houses and goods, and making bold with their wives, They answered that the time was come foretold by Christ, that *the meek (b)* shall inherit in the earth; That in the same manner God had given

y The  
trick of  
all Sedu-  
cers.

z *Causa*,  
non *pœna*,  
facit  
Marty-  
rem.

a True  
Religion  
more  
hated  
then fals  
by Sedu-  
cers.

b Meek  
with a  
witness.

c Mad  
men  
reckon  
madly.

d Poor  
encour-  
agement  
for  
women  
to follow  
their  
precious  
ways.

e They  
can  
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the goods of the Egyptians to the *Israelites*, and among the goods (c) they reckoned the wives; That they might lawfully take many wives, upon condition they should lye with them all till they were with childe, and when one was with child, they might take a new one in her stead. That they held women at 12 yeare of age, to be fit for husbands. That they put away barren women, or past child-bearing, and committed them to curators, as being good for nothing (d).

As for the provision of the Town, they said that *S. James Church* was all full of Malt. That they had barley for two years, and many thousand quarters of meal, and great store of Bacon; A false relation, for soon after they fell to eating of dogs and leather in *Munster*. They constantly affirmed that their King expected a great army out of *Holland* and *Frize*, which as soon as it was come, he would begin his expedition to subdue the world, and kill all Kings for their perverse administration of justice, and that they knew by revelation that their King of *Sion* would shortly be King of the whole earth. They persisted in denying all Magistrates but their own King (e), for which they were put to death, as enemies of all laws and order, and brands of sedition; and there was an end of that Apostleship, that should have preached a Gospel of rebellion over all the world.

This legation was in *October 1534*. at which time *Munster* began to be short of victuals: this occasioned a plot of some of the Town to take the King, and send him bound to the Bishop. The plot was discovered

discovered to the King, who thought it not safe to make the Authors known; only he committed the Town and himself to twelve trusty Captains, to whom he divided a government in the air of several Provinces, sparing no Prince but the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, whom he hoped to draw to his party; And with his smooth tongue he pacified the people, assuring them that by Easter they should certainly be delivered from all their enemies.

The Princes of the Empire, seeing their danger, if this pretended King of the world came out and met with his confederates, met at *Goblents* as they had appointed, and took a course for the Bishops help, and the straight besieging of the Town; and sent letters to the people of *Munster* to represent them their fault and their danger; and that if they did not submit to their natural Prince, they should draw all the forces of the Empire upon them. This was about the end of *December*, 1534.

They answered many words in commendation of their holy purpose, yet nothing to the purpose, and sent private letters besides to the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, to perswade him to join with them, for the killing of all the wicked, and establishing the Kingdom of the righteous in the world; and they sent him a book of that argument, whose title was, *De restitutione* (f): the Lantgrave caused it to be answered by his Divines.

To draw towards the last Acts of that wild King, among the Prophets that were taken, one called *Henry Hilversum* was saved by the Bishop, who after some private conference with him, let him go;

f They should have thought of it now and write kfs.



And he returning to *Munster*, said, that God had delivered him out of prison by an Angel like *Peter*, and had sent him to announce to the King that he had given him three rich Cities, *Amsterdam*, *Deventer*, and *Wesel*, which should shortly embrace his party: The King gladly received *Hilversum*, and made him one of his Court, and presently dispatched one *James* of *Kemp* to *Amsterdam* to bring that City to his obedience; which he was like to have done, having by his seditious doctrine stirred the most part of the people against the Magistrate, but that the Count of *Hochstrat*, Governour of *Holland*, opposed them with great wisdom and with a high hand.

Soon after *John* of *Leyden*, hearing a report that many of his sect in *Holland* and *Frize*, were wandering in great Troops like sheep having no shepherd, sent them one *John Giles* that had some skill in war, with a great sum of money, charging him that like another *Moses*, he would be their leader in the wilderness (*g*), and bring them to *Canaan*, that is, to *Munster*. But when much time past, and he heard nothing of those wandering *Israelites*, nor of their *Moses*, he sent the Prophet *Henry Hilversum*, and one *John Nortell* into *Holland* and *Frize*, to hasten them, or raise new troops.

For that expedition he had loaden *Henry Hilversum* with so much Gold that he could scarce go, wherefore he went no further than the Bishops camp, where he stayed. *John Nortell* went as far as *Deventer*, and soon after returned without effect. *Hilversum* writ a sensible letter to the people of *Munster*,

3  
 & Very  
 true  
 there  
 they  
 were.

*Munster*, wherein he acknowledged that his former Prophecies were impostures, and exhorted them to open their eyes to see how they were deluded by a company of Rascals; what beastly life they led, having violated all Laws of pudicity and honesty, and what danger they were in, of a miserable destruction.

These letters moved the hearts of many that already were weary of that life; for their publike ordinary grew short, and was reduced to one meal a day, and a short one, where their community of goods was violated; for every one had his bread by weight: But while they fasted in the Town, they feasted in the Court, for the King fared sumptuously to the very last. Which one of his wives disliking, said once, that she thought not that such a course was pleasant to God, that in the publike misery, while some pined for hunger, others should surfer with plenty. The King being told of it, brought her to the market place with his other wives, made her kneel down, and cut off her head, then made his other wives to sing and give praises for it to their heavenly father. Then he led a dance (*b*), and commanded all the people to dance, and rejoice with him, though the poor people had no great heart to dance, being fed with bread and salt only.

*b* A mad dance from first to last.

At the same time two young men of the Town, weary of that fare, were taken running away, and brought back unto the King, who killed them both with his own hand. And to appease the people, of whom many began to repent (*i*) of their error, and murmured against him, he made them a fine speech, saying that he would never have thought that they

*i* All are not left that are gone out of the way.

being

It is easie to preach the cross by them that wear the Crown.

being born again by a new Baptism, would shew themselves so impatient in their sufferings for Gods cause, whereas they should have followed *Pauls* example, bearing hunger, nakedness and cold, to attain to the haven of salvation (*k*). That God was powerful enough to send them Manna and Quails from heaven. That he had great troops in *Holland* and *Frize* that would certainly come with great provision of victual, and beat the enemies back. That God had revealed unto him, that at Easter they should be delivered for certain.

The sword is the strongest Argument.

To confirm the people, he would from that time appear every day abroad in his greatest glory, and made his Queen shew her self often with a crown of gold on her head, and royally attired and attended, and she became that pomp very well for she was of an exquisite beauty; Himself altered one point of his ordinary pomp; for whereas the Bible was carried before him at his right hand, and a naked sword on the left, he transferred the Sword (*l*) to the right hand, of which he gave this reason, that the Gospel had been presented to the impenitent world, but now the Sword came in the place, to destroy those that had rejected the Gospel. With such toys and riddles he fed the eyes and the ears of the hungry people, much like the *Lydians* that invented games to pass away their hunger in a year of famine.

Well, Easter came, and no help came; this put our Prophet King to his plunge, he shut himself up, fainting to be sick, for six days; then he came forth and said to the people, that in his sickness God had

set



set him upon a blind Ass (*m*), and laid upon him the sins of the whole multitude, whereby they were all made clean and free from their sins, and that was the deliverance which God had promised them at Easter. Sure if ever there was a false Christ (*n*) this was one. Much did he rely upon the negotiation of *Jo. Geles* whom he dayly expected, beleiving as it was true, that he had a great party in *Holland* and *Frize*: And indeed *Geles* did all that the wit of man could do to raise troops for his King in those Countries, which he put all in combustion, as we shall hear in the following Chapter. But he was killed in a tumult which he had raised in *Amsterdam*, and some troops of his confederates that were coming to relieve *Munster*, were defeated in *Frize* at *Balswerd*.

*n* Truer, had judi-  
cially made  
him a  
blind  
Ass.  
  
*n* Another  
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in the  
West  
Coun-  
try. vi.  
Ellis his  
Pseudo-  
christum  
1650.

This poor Lord of misrule, hearing those ill news cast off all hope, and could no more put a good face to his desperate case; For famine was fierce in the town, bread was spent long ago, horses, dogs, and cats were consumed, the grafs and the very roots were pickt out of the ground: and the people solicited from the camp, but more by their own extremity, were taking counsel to take the King, and deliver him to the enemy, to buy their peace. In that extremity the King commands the gates to be set open, and that as many as would should go forth: So in one day a thousand of all ages and sexes went out of the Town, and yeilded to the mercy of the Prince, who mildly received them (*o*), fed them, and let them go.

*o* Mercie  
to many,  
justice  
on few,  
is both  
good po-  
licie and  
christia-  
nity,

A few days after, famine increasing in the Town,  
the



p True,  
but not  
of his  
Faith,

the King proclaimed that as many as wanted faith in Gods help, should void the Town, saying withall, that those that should forsake the faith, should be forsaken of God(p). Many were so blindly zealous, that this speech staid them, & they chose rather to perish in the Town, than seem to forsake the faith, yet many weary to feed upon starved mice, and broiled shoes, and lean Prophecies, harkened to good counsel, and took the safety that was offered them. *Antonius CORVINUS* a Lutheran Divine writes, that he hath seen books whose covering was eaten in the famine, and that when the town was taken, children half eaten were found in corners. Yet in that general famine, the King had six months provision left, and kept a good table to the very last.

q Mercenary  
un-  
less in  
the  
Devils  
Service.

r They  
perish  
by  
them-  
selves.

U<sup>t</sup> solim  
sic nunc.

They had not held out so long, but that the Princes met at *Coblentz*, could not agree about the contribution, and so the siege went but slowly on; but the Emperour made them meet again at *Wormes* in Aprill, where fifty thousand crowns a month were granted to the Bishop for five months, and it was ordered that after the taking of the Town, the innocent people should be spared, and that all the good Citizens that were come out, or kept in by force, should have restitution of all their goods. By order of the Princes, the Army was delivered to *Obersteyne*, who because the pay was slow, which made the Souldiers(q) discontent and mutinous, could do no great exploit.

Yet finally the town was taken in June 1535. having endured a siege of eighteen months. It was neither yielded nor forced, but surprized(r), by the means

means of two that fled out of the town, and guided *Obersteyns* souldiers in the night, through the Town ditch, where the water was fordable; they scaled the walls, killed the watches, and put the next Court of guard to the sword. The noise of it awaked the Townsmen, who by reason of their light supper, had but a light sleep. They had time to make a strong barrecado in the market place, and fought valiantly a long time, putting the Bishops Souldiers to the worse till they broke open one of the Town gates and let in more men. The Townsmen seeing themselves oppressed with number, craved quarter, and had it; But the King resisted to the last, in *S. Lamberts(s)* Church-yard, and was with much ado taken, with *Knipperdelling*; *Rotman* would not yeild, but was slain in the conflict. *S. Lamberts fa- sal.*

The Bishop entred into the City the next day with 1500 horse, and brought out the spoil of the town from the souldiers; the citizens that had yeilded were spared; but the fierce *Anabaptists* that could never be tamed, and lay hid in several holes, were sought out and killed; some Souldiers having made bold with the handsomest women, were poisoned with them, and found dead in their beds. This caused the death of many women, revenge being as hot as lust was before: the fairy Queen either escaped or was killed; for it was not known what became of her.

He had galloped enough, and was now at his journey's end,

The King and no King, was sent prisoner to a Castle four miles from *Munster*. He went thither somewhat faster then he would, being tyed to the tail of a galloping horse (/), whereby his Majesty was no little

little discomposed, *Knipperdulling*, and *Krechting* another Prophet, were sent prisoners to *Horsmar*; soon after, all three were brought to *Telger*; where the Bishop asked *John of Leyden*, by what authority he had made himself King over his City and his people: *John of Leyden* asked him again, who had given him any right or authority over that people; the Bishop answered that he came to it by election of the Chapter and the people, and I (said *John of Leyden*) came in by the will and calling of God.

Two Lutheran Divines, *Corvinus* and *Keymens*, were sent to (u) confer with *John of Leyden* and *Knipperdulling*: they made the first to abjure many of his errors, and found him tractable enough, and one that heard reason: But *Knipperdulling* like a mad beast, would neither hear nor answer reason, but stood only upon revelations, and a particular spirit (w): Of him *John of Leyden* complained much, saying, that he played the Pope and would affirm, that he had the same power in things spiritual, as the King had in things temporal, and that it was fit there should be one King for the temporal, and another for the spiritual. They were condemned and executed as Traitors and Rebels, being tied to a stake and pulled in divers parts of their bodies with hot pincers for an hour and more, and then stricken in the heart with a dagger; *Krechting* suffered the like death. *John of Leyden* shewed a great constancy, if persisting in evil may be called so; for being at the stake, and hearing his sentence read, he maintained that he had indeed offended the Magistrate, but that he had not offended God (x). After their death

\* A good  
course  
when  
orderly  
taken.

\* The  
founda-  
tion of  
the Qua-  
kers.

\* Pure!  
more af-  
raid of  
Body  
then  
Soul.



death they were put in iron cages and hanged to a high steeple of S. Lambart; *John of Leyden* hanging higher than the two others.

So died that imaginary King of Justice by the hand of Justice, in the first year of his reign, being but six and twenty years of age, and there was an end of his Kingdom and his Prophecies: He was of a fair proportion (y), of an awful and yet lovely presence, of a present wit and strong judgment, eloquent, artificial, close, politique; All the Prophets and *Anabaptists* of *Munster* were fools but he (z), and he made use of their folly to serve his own ambition, which aspired to no less than the dominion of the world. He was indeed a dangerous instrument of Satan, likely to have made a fearful revolution, and planted a new Monarchy in the West of the world; for all the commons in a manner of *Germany*, *Low-countries*, *Moravia*, *Switzerland*, and other Regions in all likelihood would have joined with him, if he could once have come out of *Munster*, as it may appear by the Chapters following.

y The Devil knows who to make use of.

z All fools but some will see them some.

## CHAP. V.

*The tumults of the Anabaptists in Low-Germany.*

**T**He *Anabaptists* that made themselves masters of *Munster*, were deboyshed tradesmen of *Holland* and *Frize*, and there during the troubles of *Munster*, the same spirit was working with efficacy in the children of Rebellion (a): They had like projects, but worse success.

In *Febr.* 1534. some of them raising a sedition at

a The Devil a Ubiquity.

the



the *Hague* were apprehended and put to death. In *March*, letters came from the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, who was Lord of the *Low-Countries*, offering a free pardon to all of that sect, that would within a fortnight repent and confess their error; commanding withall that all persons persisting in that sect should be severely punished according to the Laws. Yet the same month, a great multitude of *Anabaptists* with their wives and children, leaving all their estates, but what they could carry in mony, offered to go over to *Overysse* with twelve ships, and being asked whither they went, they said they went to seek such land as God would give them; But they were stayed, the Secretary of the *Hague* being sent in time to *Amsterdam* by the Emperor to dispatch a convenient number of ships to fight with them, unless they disbanded & returned home; it is like they were going to *Munster*, the Sion of the *Anabaptists*.

This restraint made them more fierce, like a stream that swells when it is stopt: for the next day at noon five *Anabaptists* came naked through the streets with their swords in their hands, crying, *In the name of the Lord, The blessing of God lyeth upon one part of the City, and his curse on the other*. They were soon followed with others in arms, and the Magistrate raised in all haste some companies of Archers to oppose them: The authors of the sedition were taken, and all was quiet for that time.

The same day, such another sedition was raised at *Harlem*, in which six *Anabaptists* were slain, and two at the *Hague* were executed for the like cause. Shortly after, six of the most seditious were burnt  
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at *Harlem*, and two women drowned.

In *May* following, letters from *Frize* were read in the Counsel of *Amsterdam*, giving warning of a plot of the *Anabaptists* both of *Frize* and other parts, to meet in *Amsterdam* upon a certain day, and make themselves masters of the Town. Presently the Magistrates raised the Trained bands of the City, and made them stand in arms about the Town-house while they sat in Counsel; then a Proclamation was sent forth, that none in the City upon pain of death should harbor any stranger *Anabaptist*, & that all the *Anabaptists* that were in the City should void it before 5 of the clock in the afternoon; That whosoever should stay after that time, should be put to death, without any remission. Towards night the Magistrates sent to search all the houses and took twenty of them; Four days after the Count of *Hochstrate*, Governor of *Holland*, came into the City with great part of the Counsel of *Holland*, & then eleven of the *Anabaptists* were beheaded, and four burnt alive; Thirty six of that sect having abjured it, were condemned to walk in procession barehead & barefoot with white sheets about them, and burning torches in their hands; Before the month was ended, more were found, and more executed, nine beheaded, and four burnt, nothing but fire and sword could repress the seditionury of that fanatical sect.

About this time two Prophets of *Munster*, *James* of *Kemp*, and *John Nathius* of *Middleborough*, were sent by *John* of *Leyden* into *Holland*, to raise there a party for him; *James* of *Kemp*, he had made Governor of *Amsterdam*, where he had as much

right to command, as in *Munster*. Their coming to *Amsterdam* raised new tumults, which caused the Earl of *Hochstrat*, to return in September, to confirm the people in the Emperors obedience: In his way he visited *Leyden*, *Harlem*, and *Delfe*, and having called the Burgeses of the Cities, he concluded the destruction of all the *Anabaptists*. Being come to *Amsterdam*, he sent for the Magistrates, chid them grievously for being so remisse in Executions, and presently committed two noted *Anabaptists*; Upon which a rumour being spread in the City, that the night after, two hundred should be taken and sent bound to the *Hague*, there to be executed, a great multitude aroise towards night, and stood in armes about the town-house, the Magistrates raised the trained bands, and came resolved to fall upon them, but bloodshed was prevented by the wise and moderate counsell of two of the best, who undertook to send them home with good words, and so they did; for having asked them why they assembled themselves in the night in such a tumultuous manner, the *Anabaptists* answered that they would not be taken sleeping in their Beds; the Magistrates promised upon their faith and credit, that they should receive no harm, and so they were quieted and disbanded: But this uprore did so fright the Count of *Hochstrat*, that he withdrew himself presently.

All these were but preludes to a greater mischief, wrought chiefly by that pernicious instrument

ment *James of Kemp*, who lay hid in *Amsterdam* six months, appearing only in the night to keep Conventicles seducing the people: Herein he was strongly seconded by *John Geles*, sent by *John of Leyden*, to be a leader of the wandering brethren to *Munster*, as we said before, and that expectation made *Munster* hold out so long.

But *John Geles* being come to *Frixe* and *Holland*, found no wandering *Israel* in the desert, as it was reported in *Munster*, wherefore he went to the Cities, where he made a great party, and caused several insurrections, and yet was not seen in any for a long time.

In *January 1535*. it was discovered that the An. 1535, *Anabaptists* had a plot to set *Leyden* on fire by night, and although timely notice was given, fire was set in several places of the Town the houses were searched, and the heads of the conspiracy were taken together in one house, fifteen men and five women, the men were beheaded, and the women drowned.

The next month the *Anabaptists* plaid a mad prank in *Amsterdam*, in a womans house, whose husband was gone to the *West-Indies*; seven men and five women of that sect had a meeting, One of them *Theodore* a Taylor, who bore himself for a Prophet, fell flat to the ground, and prayed with such vehemency, that he scared all the assistants out of their wits<sup>b</sup>: Then rising, as<sup>b</sup> Our Quakers it were out of an extasie, I have seen (said he) these God in his Majesty, and have spoken with him, I mens was wrapt up to Heaven, then I descended into Apes.



c Cursing  
common  
with our  
Quakers.  
d Learn-  
edly spo-  
ken.  
e Pope  
like.

f The spi-  
ritual pre-  
tender is  
mad; and  
the people  
given up  
to strong  
delusions.

d.

g He for-  
got  
whence  
himself  
was.

h Admirer  
of novel

Hell, and there searched every corner; the great day of the last Judgement is coming: and thou (speaking to one of the company) art *curs- ed* for ever, thou art not good enough for Hell, *thou shalt be cast into the bottomlesse pit d.* Then the poor condemned man, fell on his knees, craving pardon, and the Prophet pardoned him *e*, and announced him a full remission of all his sins. Again in the night they met in the same place, the Women having left their Husbands a bed. After four hours spent in prayer and teaching, the Prophet *f* be armed, *Capape* (for in these Canonical robes he preached) first, put off his head-piece, then his corslet, then his sword, then his garments and his very shirt, and throw- eth all into the fire: then he commanded the company in authority of a Prophet to do the like, and so they did, Women and all, leaving not so much as a hair-lace to tye up their scat- tered hair, no covering to the body, no shelter to shame; for so was the Prophets pleasure, that they should cast away all that came out of the *earth g*, and burnt it as a Sacrifice of sweet sa- vour unto God: yet you may think that the bur- ning off so many cloaths, yeilded no very sweet savour; and it was such, that it awaked the Mi- streffe of the house, that knew nothing of this meeting, and made her rise to seek where the burning was, for that smell made her afraid that the fire was in her shop, which was of woollen Drapery: being come to the place, she saw *ele- ven naked b* bodies, and the Prophet comman- ded

ded her to put off her cloaths, and set them in the fire, which she did : then the Prophet commanded them all to follow him, and do as he would do, and so rushed into the streets, stark naked ; and all his Disciples after him, running ; These and crying horribly through the Town ; woe things woe, woe, the Divine Vengeance, the Divine would be Vengeance : whereby they put the whole town incredible, in an uproar, the people thinking that the town ble, but was surprized by some enemy, they were all our times taken but one Woman that slipt out of the way, have put them out and were brought to the Magistrate, and as they of doubt, stood naked *k* in a full Court, they could never be *k* The Devil makes perswaded, neither by commands, nor threat- hard hart- ed, and nings, to put on garments, which were offered bold of them, saying, that they must have no covering, face, past for they were the naked truth. They were kept a grace, past while in prison, till the great conspiracy, two shame. months after, and then were executed : the Mistressse of the house where the Conventicle was kept, was hanged before her own doors.

In *March*, a thousand men of that Sect, came out of *Hainault* to *Holland*, and were repulsed in time before they gathered more strength.

The same month, three hundred *Anabaptists* fell upon the Monastery of *Bolswerd* in *Frize*, rifled it, pulled down the Church, and trampled the Eucharist under their feet. *George Shenk* a great man of *Frize*, hearing of it, gathered presently a considerable number of his Tenants and Neighbours, and met the Rebels, offering impunity to all but ten. They answered, that they

would all live and dye together, and so they did; for they endured a Siege in the ruines of the Monastery, where they were all killed, or taken, and executed after, saving only threescore and two men that fled.

The frequent seditions in all parts of *Holland* were hardly repress'd with frequent executions; for *John Geles* was raising seditions from City to City, to frame a party for his King. A cunning plotting projector he was, and by his leading the Monastery of *Bolsward* was taken; his intent was to go with his troop to *Munster*, and gather more strength as he went: But being defeated by *George Shenk*, he fled to *Amsterdam* changed his name, and went for a Merchant; for by the several confessions of many that were executed for Sedition, the name of *Geles* was known, and grown famous for the prime author of all the factions of *Holland* and *Frize*.

In that City he found many fit subjects for his delusions, to whom he told wonders of the new Kingdome of righteousness at *Munster*, their liberty of life, their pillaging of Churches, and enriching themselves with the substance of the ungodly, and of the great designs of their King, and the prophesies of the propagation of his Kingdome in the world.

I Dulcis  
et tor lucri  
ex re qua-  
libet.  
Gane  
gains fol-  
lowers.  
Disciples

By such discourses he filled the mindes of the people with a frantique zeal, and made them any thing long to be fingering of the Chalice and Plates of Churches, and rob the Silver and Gold of the Egyptians. There was then one *Henry Goeth-  
belit*

belit in the Town, a proper strong man that had much followed the Wars, and had got a great reputation of Valour: this man was won by the *Anabaptists*, and made by *Geles* his associate and partner of all his Councils.

And because *Geles* was in great fear to be known by his right name (for the only changing of his name by the Lawes of the Countrey was punishable by death) he was perswaded by his friends to go to the Court of *Brabant*, and there confesse his fault, and buy his pardon (which he might well, for he had brought a great sum of money out of *Munster*) and then return and converse freely and openly, with his own name, and have more liberty and opportunity to bring his designs to action.

He went then to the Court, where Queen *Mary of Portugal*, sister to *Charles* the fifth, was Governesse of the seventeen Provinces, and sped so well, that not only he obtained his pardon, but got a great trust in the Court, promising to deliver the City of *Munster* to the Emperour. To that effect he got a Commission under the Great Seal, with a good sum of money, to leavy Soldiers for that service.

Having thus cozened the Court, he returned to *Amsterdam*, to cozen the Magistrates, who seeing his Commission, and the greatnesse of the designe, would emulate the trust reposed upon him by their Superiors, and shewed him much favour; he took his lodging in the Spanish Ordinary, consorted with men of that Nation and



a n VWith Religion, gave fair words<sup>m</sup> to all, which made  
 fair Spec- the Magistrates secure, and himself unsufferable.  
 ches. Paul He made such use of that liberty, that in a short  
 Bom. 16. time, he had contrived a most politick enter-  
 18. Δια prise, to make himself Master of the City. In a  
 τῆς χυ- night meeting, he announced to his brother-  
 σολογίας hood the Oracle of *Henry Hilversum*, that God  
 αὐτολογί- had given to the King of *Sion Amsterdam*,  
 αὐτῆς ἀπα- \* *Wesell*, and *Daventer*, for the first-fruits of his  
 τῶσιν. reign over the world, perswading them that to in-  
 vade *Amsterdam* was an easie matter, having but  
 to do with a few idle Bellies and that they had  
 a fair opportunity at hand, to kill them altoge-  
 ther in the Town-house the twelfth of the in-  
 stant *May*, a day kept festival by antient custom,  
 by the society of the Crosse, who used to make  
 a great Feast at night in the Town-house, and  
 invite all the Magistrates, and men of means of  
 the City, and there to spend most part of the  
 night in drinking, and looking upon fire-works:  
 That day then was designed for the enterprize,  
 and their enemies noted and designed for the  
 slaughter, and the richest houses already shared  
 amongst them: they appointed for the signal of  
 their rising, the ringing of the Bell in the Town-  
 house: Before they parted, *John Geles* gave to e-  
 very one a Ducat for a bond of society and secre-  
 cy. He and *Henry Goethelie* were to be the  
 leaders.

The appointed night being come, some *A-*  
*nabaptists* were up before the signal, which the  
 rest looking for, stayed so long, that the enter-  
 prize

prize was disappointed; for the same day the Belrope was taken out of the way by a drunken fellow, yet by an admirable providence of God, watching for the safety of the City, and so there was no ringing, and no great meeting: <sup>n God ad</sup> The Magistrates and the society of the Crosse, <sup>bove all,</sup> hearing that the *Anabaptists* were up in armes, <sup>rules over</sup> all, so may <sup>England</sup> left their sport and went home. Yet the Magistrates were so long consulting, that they were almost surprized by their enemies, who rushed with Colours flying, and Drums beating, into the Town-house, and killed some of the Serjeants and Waiters, and made the Masters that went before, to go out of their Aldermans pace to save their lives. Then coming to the great place where the Bonfires were burning, they overthrew them, that they might give more terror, and shoot undiscerned upon the multitude; they killed many in the dark with Bullets, which they had poisoned for fear of failing, and the Burgmaster *Peter Colin* being come to encounter them with a Troop of Citizens, was by them slain, and his men put to flight, then one *Goswin*, a man of great authority in the City, and one that had valour and skill in War, commanded that the streets should be stoppt with great sacks of Hops heaped up to be instead of Gabions, against the shot of the *Anabaptists*: And because he trusted not in the fearful and unexperienced Citizens, he called Volunteers, to whom he promised a months pay for that dayes service; by that means he got many that had  
seen

seen War before, and made a gallant Company.

The night being dark, he could attempt nothing till day, onely he took an order that all the wayes to the market place (where the *Anabaptists* stood in armes) should be stoppt, and that the rest of the people should keep at home without noise: this order frightened the *Anabaptists*, seeing no hope to be assisted by their brethren, who for want of the signal of the Bell were not come, and now it was too late for them to come, the waies being stoppt, and having lost the first opportunity of the fright of the people, who now were come to themselves, and stood upon their defence.

Then *Goetbelit* said to *Geles*, this was my fear, that beginning this enterprize with so few, we should come short of it (for they were not above forty) now all that we have to do is to dye like men o. Nay (said *Geles*) if you will believe a Prophet, we shall be Masters of the City before to morrow ten of the clock: then they sung p *Psalms* all night, at the break of day, the people perceiving them, began to shoot at them, which made them retire into the Town-house, and there keep strong; the people brought Ordinance before it, and were ready to have battered it down, but *Goswin* would try first to assault the door, which was done with effect, although the *Anabaptists* fought it out stoutly, and but twelve of them were taken, the rest were killed, & *Goetbelit* one of them. *John Geles* that would by any means

o They could not as Christi-ans.

p Now against singing.

cozen the hangman of his fees, got upon a little Steeple where the Town Bell hung, and gave a fair mark to the Soldiers below, who shot him thorow, whereof he fell down dead into the place. The prisoners were executed and some more of the town, and some living without the gates, who hearing shooting of guns, were come to pillage the City, supposing that it was taken. Two women were hanged, and two drowned for poisoning the Bulls; many more since were executed, and amongst others some of those that daunced that Antique Masque of naked Men and Women, and a Woman and her Son, for receiving *James of Kemp*, contrary to the order of the Magistrate. For it had been proclaimed in the Town, that whosoever should harbour him, and not discover him before night, should be hanged at his door, but he that should discover him, should have a great reward. He was found hid in a heap of turves, and executed with ignominy, having a two horned Miter on his head, because he played the Bishop. His tongue was cut off, wherewith he had preached Sedition, and his hand wherewith he baptized without authority.

A little before the great plot, fourteen had conspired, when a solemn procession should go over the bridge, to throw the Eucharist and them that carried it, down the bridge into the water, the plot was detected, and the Authors executed.

*John Geles* had warned three hundred men of  
*Iselsmire*



In wick-  
ednesse.

*Iselwin*, to meet him at *Amsterdam*, three or four dayes after the intended enterprize, intending with that *Garrison* to keep the Town; They came neer it, but hearing how matters went with their brethren, they dispersed themselves presently, and returned home by several wayes: He had appointed more 9 brethren from several places, to come at a certain day; but they hearing the ill successe of their tribe, took their way into *England*, in two Ships, and here it seemeth they have stayed ever since.

And now the heart of that Faction was broken in all the *Low-Countreys*, for they left not searching and executing in every City, till all that Generation was extinct or brought so low, that they left plotting. Ten years after, some reliques of that Faction would offer to stir at *Leyden*, the Authors being taken and examined, confest that the *Anabaptists* had chosen a King, who was not crowned yet, and was to succeed *John of Leyden*, and another to be his high Treasurer and that both were at *Utrecht*. Both were apprehended, and kept some months in prison. Among other exploits of that elected King, he had brought his Wife into a Wood, and there killed her, that without interruption he might lye with her daughter, and had lately cut a young wenches throat least she should detect him; good store of Plate was found in his house, most of it Church Plate: It seems that party began to make a stock for a new Kingdome, the King and his Treasurer were burnt, That was the last spark of that faction till our times.



## CHAP. 6.

Of the Anabaptists of Switzerland,  
and other places.

THE South of *Germany*, was not free from that Sect, at *Zurick* they began to pick a quarrel with *a Ministers*, who did their best to reduce them with reason and mildnesse : for eight or nine weeks together, they conferred with them every Tuesday, and being overcome in dispute, they fled to Revelations, their ordinary sanctuary, falling into a Trance before the company, and when they waked out of it, saying that they had a Revelation that the doctrine of *Zwinglius* was damnable, and *Anabaptisme* holy, and that the day of Judgement should be within two years. Daily they prophecyed in the Market-place, girded about with *a rope* <sup>b</sup>, or *a with*, <sup>b</sup> The due calling the chief Minister of the place (*John Gasterio*) the ancient Dragon, and his Collegues the heads of the Dragon ; boasting of their holinesse ( which consisted much in the reaching the rich men community of goods) and crying in the streets, woe, woe, woe, to the City of *Zurick* ; some went so far, as to give sorry dayes time to *Zurick*,

<sup>a</sup> Their  
great  
quarrel is  
against  
them,

<sup>b</sup> The due  
desert of  
such.

*Zurick* as *Jonas* did to *Nineve*, after which it must be destroyed. After a long patience of the Magistrate they were put in Prison, where they were again convented in conference by the Ministers, and many times conducted by their Keepers to a publick meeting, where all the people might hear the conference. Finding themselves short of reason, and confuted by Scripture, they would answer, that what they could not prove by Reason and Scripture, they would prove by their blood. Thus ten conferences were held, and two of them in the Church, every conference lasting three dayes, where they got so much discredit to their cause, that the number of their Sectaries decreased much, and the Senate proclaimed, that if any should re-baptize such as were baptized already, he should be drowned. And so many were baptized the third time, and *Zurick* was in peace.

The Genius of that Sect was every where alike, for they went from City to City where they heard that reformation was received, (not to any Popish town) and wheresoever they came, they presently troubled the State, and filled all with clamour and sedition. By them was the town of *Walzur* miserably ransacked, and all the Inhabitants driven away out of their possessions: The like they were like to have done at *Worms*, at *Amburg*, at *Bazel*, at *Shafuse*, at *Berne*, at *Lucerna*, at *Passaw*; I will not weary the reader with all these passages, their actions at *Munster* and *Amsterdam*, are sufficient to give a Character

racter of that Sect, and I aim at no more, *Crimine ab uno, disce omnes*; I will adde but a few more of their maximes, and some passages of their behaviour; observing no order of time, for my authors observe none.

It were an endlesse task to rehearse their several errors, which because all among them were Preachers, could not but multiply in *infinitum*: They held among other things, that rebaptized men cannot sin, because they are Gods children; that all Ministers that hold Church-livings, are from the Devil: that the Apostles had nothing proper, but went from house to house; some would say that they had no need of the Lords Prayer, because they prayed by the Spirit; many denied the God-head of Christ, *e Arrian-* and for that two were executed at *Newcastle*. In *Anabap-* *Moravia* especially that opinion was received, *tists*. which Countrey because of the looseness of the Government swarmed with *Anabaptists*, and was cryed up by the Sectaries of *Switzerland* and upper *Germany*, for a land of Promise, and thither many of them removed their household, when they found themselves repret.

One of them committed a notable impo-  
 sure, In the night time he put a great num-  
 ber of Fishes in a foul puddle, where the  
 people used to wash Horses, and in the mor-  
 ning he Prophesied, thus saith the Lord, cast  
 Nets in this Puddle, and you shall get good  
 Fish, a thing incredible, for never any Fish  
 was seen there. But at his word, his Disciples  
 cast



cast the Net, and enclosed multitude of Fishes, so that the Net brake. Thus the profane Raskall would imitate the miracle of Christ, and God in his anger gave efficacy of error to that false miracle which deceived many.

f That  
Dream is  
not yet  
fallen a-  
sleep.

By *Basel* there was an uproar of some Villages who would have three things, abolish all Tithes, pull down all Magistrates, and kill all the ungodly, but they were stopt in time, and disbanded and fined. The ground of these attempts of the *Anabaptists* in so many places, was a dream they had of a temporal Kingdome of Christ, with whom all the godly should reign in Earth without any infirmity of Body or Soul, all Gods enemies being destroyed first, for all *Anabaptists* were and are still *Chilists*, expounding litterally that Kingdome of a thousand years, of *Rev.* 20. 6. to be a temporal Kingdome. That fancy put many of them out of their wits, all the Histories that speake of them, relate many examples of their looking seriously for the coming of the Lord upon such a night, being warned by Revelation, which made them fast and pray that night, and put all their businesses out of order.

Much conference they had with the Angell *Gabriel*, and one of their women, a very poor one, saw him to her thinking, in a vision, bidding her to lay the cloth, and invite her neighbour, and that God would send her *Manna* and *Quails*  
from

from heaven, but none came, and the Neighbour put up their knives, and went home having had long graces, but no meat. Another woman had a revelation that God would keep her alive without meat, and she fasted to death.

Under pretence of childish innocency, they played many mad pranks, one having kept his excrements in store many days, powred it into the street, and turned himself naked into it, saying for his reason, that unlesse we be made like little children, we cannot enter into the Kingdome of heaven. Others for the same reason, would ride naked upon sticks and hobby horses like children, in great companies, and women would run naked with them, and then in pure innocency, they lay together, and so in the end it proved childrens play indeed. (g)

Mad feats might have been suffered or repressed with mild courses, but their general design to pull down all Magistrates, and kill all the ungodly, that is, all that were none of their sect, provoked the just severity of the princes and Commonwealths against them; and for 20. years, many thousands of them were killed, burned, and drowned, till their reliques were so contemptible, that they were let alone for compassion:

g As the Quakers in Colchester.



## Chap. I.

### *Of our English-Quakers, name and practise.*

a L. 1. of  
the Ana-  
baptists.  
b L. 2. of  
the Qua-  
kers.

The end  
of the  
Author.

c *Ess Co-  
muni-  
ca-  
ti-  
on.*

*Επισκο-  
πος, & ο  
καθ' ἑ-  
κατον.*

Their  
name  
quod Ety-  
mologum  
Thevown  
it not, but  
are so cal-  
led.

d See Gil-  
pin c. 2. &  
Tudery,  
c. 3.

**Y**OU have heard a sad story from abroad, a-  
acted in the theatre of Germany, which  
surely hath not been takenn orice of,  
without *deteatation* and *amazement*.

Now b we draw neerer home, and come to  
give in a brief account of somewhat done in *our*  
*land*, and in *our times*.

All to one and the same end.

*viz.*

1. *To caution thee*, that thou beest not de-  
ceived.
2. *To excite thee to be thankful*, if thou still  
standest in the truth, stedfast, and im-  
movable, rooted (c) therein.
3. *To provoke thee to pray*, for the *purity*, e-  
stablishment and peace of Gods Church,  
the eye sores of the Divell and vexation of  
his instruments, but the *desire*, endeavour,  
and joy of the naturall sons of Zion.

Of late years, under the Sun-shine of too ge-  
nerall a toleration, there hath sprung up a sort  
of people, generally called *Quakers* from the  
quaking

quaking and trembling of their bodies, in a very strange and uncouth manner, when (either really or pretendedly,) acted by another spirit (d) then their own.

For the justification of it, they abusively alledge (e) those Scriptures that mention any thing of quaking, or trembling in the Saints, at any time, or upon any occasion:

Not considering,

1. That some speeches are *hyperbolically* spoken.
2. And others intimate to us the extraordinary operations of the Holy Ghost.

But they think it sufficient with empty sounds, to deceive the simple (f) they themselves in the interim, enervating *ad placitum*, when they please, the sacred authority of divine writ, as shall afterward be made manifest, (g)

1. *Their Assemblies*] they hold without any difference of time or place, but as opportunity offers in them; formerly a great part both of their Men and Women did extraordinarily quake, even to the dread and affrightment of the \* beholders, but now more rare and seldom.

2. *Their language*] to themselves peculiar, so that by it they may be known, in a small matter they pretend much conscience, and put much in these little words thou and thee, \* but if a little provoked then they shew their tongues to be set on fire of Hell, railing, cursing, and blaspheming, yea damning them with whom wrathfully

justify  
Quaking.

Ans. to  
Westmer-  
land posi-  
tion. p. 35.

Ex. 17. 16.

1. Their  
assemblys

|| See c. I.

example

1. & else-

where

Westmer-

petition,

c. II.

2. Lan-

guage.

|| See c. I.

\* There is

a Book in

defence of

it called

The pure

language



k As will  
appeare

c. 5 ex-  
ample 2.

διυλιζου-

τις τον

χωνπα-

93ε,

μαμλαο

καταπι-

νοτες.

ηλν

3. Beha-

viour.

Their

reason.

Answe-

red:

μλαθα-

ρεινις

αοτ'ε

ρεπο-δι-

λοηλας.

N. B.

4. Their

food and

rayment.

\* A. Nay-

lor. Par-

nel.

displeased, (k) which evidence they strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel, their mouths so narrow that you cannot passe, and yet when mov'd, their mouths are full (l) of cursing and evil speaking, this is legible in printed characters their phamphelts will sufficiently shew it.

3. Their behaviour is, bail fellow well met: and though they have a shew of humility, yet are they big with swollen pride; for as if neither God nor Nature nor State had made any difference of persons, they will uncover to none, nor give any titles of Honour, witness their proud, sullen, and clownish behaviour, not only toward persons of a lower ranck but before Magistracy itself.

Upon the pretence of calling no man Father, & that they may not be guilty of worshiping the creature, many of them being willingly ignorant (m) of the difference between cultum divinum & civilem, divine and civil honour.

2. Others (the more ignorant of them) being misled by misunderstanding the language and scope of Scripture.

Yet this is remarkable, when they should not, they will strangely allegorize; I wish Origen's mischance do not befall them.

4. Their food and rayment ] too abstemious in the first, and almost sordid in the last, sometimes fasting many dayes; \* at other times living a long while on a little bread and water, going in any mean habit, without (as we use to say) welt or guard, no Lase, Cuffes, Hatbands, &c.

taking

taking an occasion hereby the more to inveigh against gluttony, drunkenness, pride, covetousness, &c. That by this means they might gain a great opinion among simple well minded people, who consider not that the Divell doth transforme himself into an Angell of Light (n) and suits his temptation as may best suit with them he hath to do with, that apt we are to seek a righteousness of our own.

5. Their *prancks*) may well be termed mad *prancks*, many times so far from (*quod decet Christianis*) Christianity and reason that they have not in them *aliquid humanitatis* what becomes reasonable creatures.

And therefore, because they cannot bare them out by such principles, they betake themselves to, 1. *occult revelations*, 2. *the operations of the spirit*, 3. *the voice of God within them*; so facthering on the most High what they dare not on nature be low, and what *natura naturata*, nature abhors, they make to be pleasing *natura naturanti* to the God of nature, so that they may fitly be termed *ἄλογα ζῶα*, unreasonable ones.

1. *Great disturbers of Church assemblies*] both their men and women, interrupting Ministers in the midst of their preaching, contradicting and blaspheming (o) *καὶ βλασφημῶντες*.

The women, who should be clothed with modesty, and are prohibited by Apostolicall injunction (p) to speak in the Church, denuding themselves of all shamefacedness, with brazen

n' O ca-  
ταια's  
μῆλασχη-  
μαλίζε-  
ται οἷς

ἄγλαον  
φῶτις.

5. *Prancks*  
See Gilpin

c. 2. & Tol-  
derrys

story, c. 3.  
Church

disturbers  
'Αρτέλα-

γὰρ τοῖς  
ἀλογῶν

τοῖς ἀντι-  
ἀλογῶν

καὶ βλα-  
σφημῶντες

p 1 Cor.  
14-35.

'Αποχρη-  
σθε τῶν

καὶ ἐν ὧ  
ἐκκλησίᾳ

ἀκούετε.

2 Tim. 2.  
12.

ὑποταξά-  
μεθα οἱ ἑαυ-  
τῶν ὡς ἐπὶ

faces πρὸς

faces vent their brain-sick phancies under pretext of impulsign of the Holy Spirit.

1. This they doe in the greatest assemblies.
2. In ways disorderly] as if God himself were

\* κατα-  
sagias. the author of \* confusi n.

N. B.

Yet many times so far can they imprison their pretended impulses, as to abtain, when they may otherwise incur the penalty of the Law, by speaking to the disturbance of holy performances, consulting their own safety rather then venting what they pretend to be impulsed unto, impellunt impulsum they force the impulse.

2. Go  
naked.  
instances  
divers af-  
terwards.  
Chap. 5.  
Proof  
Answer.

2. Go naked] frequently in the streets (q) expo-  
sing their nakedness to publique view, and  
boulster out their immodesty by the Prophets  
going naked; as if they had

1. The self same warrant.

2. And the Prophet going as naked as them-  
selves with the discovery of his shame, yea, men  
and women have appeared so in the publique  
Assemblies on the Lords-day, neither being re-  
strained, 1. by the holyness of the time, nor  
2. having respect at all to divine Ordinances,  
nor 3. society of the Saints, altogether unmin-  
dfull of that of the Apostle that would have the  
women to have a covering on their heads, because  
of the (r) Angels, but as if the holy God would  
have his holy Day, Ordinances and Assemblies  
affronted with that which puts nature it self to  
the blush, they weigh not, we have no such cu-  
stome, when they tend not what nature it self  
touches.

1<sup>st</sup> Cor.  
11. 10.  
δια τού  
αγαλλί  
των  
αγγέλων  
το  
καπέλον  
το  
κεφάλου  
το  
1 COR. 11.  
16.  
το  
καπέλον  
το  
κεφάλου  
το  
καπέλον  
το  
κεφάλου



## CHAP. II.

## Of John Gilpin of Kendal in Westmerland.

**B**Ut that you may not be served up and put off with a *general* information only we shall be willing to take the pains to give you some account of particulars, and begin with three that have made themselves known to the world, viz. *Gilpin, Tolderry and Naylor.*

1. *John Gilpin of Kendal in Westmerland in May 1653. went to a meeting of the Quakers at Richard Newberys, where Christopher Atkinsons (a) drift in his speaking was to deny all ministeriall teaching and ordinances, (b) and that we ought to become as if we never had learned, and to be taught of God within our selves by waiting upon an inward light*] after which he was affraid to read any good books or hear any Minister or to remember any thing which he had learned out of Gods word.

Going a second time to one of their meetings, he had some conference by the way, in which Robert Collison (c) affirmed that Christ had his failings (d) for he distrusted God on the Crosse: he that then was Speaker perswaded the people to hearken to a voice within them, after which he resolved to wait for the manifestation of these things in himself.

L. 2. C. 2.  
Of Gilpin.

C. 2. 3. 4.

Gilpin  
Quakers  
shaken,  
p. 2.

a A notorious

Quaker.

b Well  
struck  
at once.

c A Quaker.

d Yet they must be perfect.

p. 3. f. 8.



There is  
cunning  
in daub-  
ing.

A third time he spake to them at your meet-  
ing that he would not joyn with them, if they  
were of *Collissions* mind, to which some of them  
(after much whispering) (e) answered nega-  
tively.

At a fourth meeting *Atkinson* was speaker,  
when he spake much of the experience he had  
from God from the light within him, which  
light *Gilpin* not finding was much troubled, yet  
expected the appearance of that light, and ear-  
nestly desired that he might fall into quaking  
and trembling.

\* No stan-  
ding be-  
fore the  
Devil but  
in Gods  
strength.  
\* Much of  
the same  
in others,  
hereafter.

After his departure from them, walking in his  
chamber he began to quake and tremble so  
extreamly that he could not stand \* but  
was forced to fall upon his bed, where  
he howled \* cryed in a hideous manner to the  
great astonishment of his Family: when he had  
thus continued about half an hour, he ceased  
from howling gradually, after which he rose re-  
joycing, thinking now that he could bear wit-  
nesse against the *Ministers* as false *Prophets* be-  
cause he never found such effect under their Mi-  
nistry.

P. 4.  
f The Di-  
vel will  
come and  
discover  
as serves  
his turn.

Going to bed, he was much troubled all that  
night with dreams concerning his condition, and  
had a discovery of his sins \* in particular, espe-  
cially of his covetousnesse: afterwards awake  
and thinking upon those dreams he sensibly per-  
ceived smething (as he imagined) lighting  
upon his neck, and giving him a great stroke,  
which caused much pain, & after that another,  
third

third, and fourth, which stroke less than the former and lower down till it came to the middle of his back, and then he thought something entered his body which he perswaded himself to be the spirit, and heard (in his conceit) a voice within him, it is day, looking up he answered, yes, the voice twice replied as certainly as it is light, so certainly shall Christ give thee light.

After this he continued two or three dayes waiting for further discoveries, sometime wrapt up into *excessive joy*, and again exceedingly dejected with fears of his condition, whether really good or under delusions: yet still waited and walking into the Garden, lying down on the ground with his face to the earth, his right hand began to shake, so as he could not hold it still, (g)

whilst he was wondring what the meaning should be, apprehending himself to be shaken by the hand, he was brought into a rapture of joy, (b) imagining it to be a figure of his marriage with Christ, then he was raised and set on his feet, again turned and laid on his back at which his sins were particularly brought to mind, and at remembrance of every sin, his hand was

carried round about with giving a pat on the ground and then he imagined he heard a voice saying, now such a sin is mortified; of which being perswaded, (k) the power he was acted by permitted him to rise saying, Ask what thou wilt of the Father, and he will give it? he replied, he knew not what to ask, but desired that power to teach him, he bid him ask wisdom whereupon he

d.  
e. Acted.  
b All joy is not heavenly.  
\* Remem- ber our sin, God, Di- vel, Consci- ence.

i A poor mortification.  
k without ground

he desired also that God would give him such things as were most for his glory and the good of others, the power answered that his request was granted, and that he should be endowed with the spirit of prophecy and singing praises to God.

p. 5.  
I Small  
satisfacti-  
on.  
m The stir-  
ring of  
affections  
no true  
signe of  
edifica-  
tion.  
n Quakers  
of whom  
c. 11.

Christum  
non  
crucem  
abhorret  
diabolus.  
- p. 6.  
q perswa-  
sions  
without  
ground  
lead men  
into a  
fools pa-  
radise.

Herewith being satisfied (l) he went to the fifth meeting, where Atkinson being Speaker, he was much more affected (m) then formerly; after he had done, Gilpin being ready to go away, the wife of the house took him by the hand, and wringing it very hard, bad him sit down again which he did, and presently John Audland (n) stood up, saying, Cannot ye watch one hour? &c. In the time of his speaking Gilpin was drawn from where he sat, and thrown upon the ground, in the midst of the Company, where he lay all night; all which time his body and all the members of it were in motion, being turned from his back to his belly and so back again, severall times, making (o) crosses; continually with his legs one over the other, his hands were carried too and fro on the ground as if writing; in which motions (he saith) he acted not in the least, but was altogether passive.

He was perswaded (q) it was the immediate power of Christ, and heard (he thought) a voice, that that writing with his hand upon the ground did signifie the writing of the law in his heart. Having lain all night upon the ground, as afore-said, the power moved his hands to his head and



and laid them on the top thereof, fast closed together; whereupon he heard a voice, (r) *Christ in God and God in Christ and Christ in thee*; which he was compelled to sing before the company, in a strange manner, with such a voice as was not naturally his own; he sang also diverse phrases of Scripture, given into him, after which he was raised from the ground and set on his feet by the power within him, which had him be (s) humble, and brought him down again upon his knees, and with a whispering voice said, *Proop low, low*; and having stooped neer the ground with his face, it said, *Take up the Crosse and follow me*: arising, he was led out of the house to the river, and thence into the town, drawn down the street, and caused suddenly to turn to a door (himself not knowing who lived in the house) two of the company following him all the time, and seeing him go to the door, said, *whither wilt thou go? this is the Fiddlers (t) house*; he answered, *whose house soever it is, Christ (u) leads me hither; and therefore I must go*: (w) Whereupon his hand was carried to knock, and he commanded to say, *behold, Christ stands at the door and knocks*. The Fiddler opened and Gilpin was led into the house not speaking to him, where his hand was carried to a Base-viall hanging up, he took it down and began to play upon it, and was immediately compelled to fall a dancing, hereupon he questioned the power, to which the voice, replied, *this is not because I love Musick, for I*  
*bate*

*r Vox & praterena nihil.*

*s A great shew of humility may consist with a great deal of pride.*

*t A merry Divell.  
u How far wide when the Divell taken for Christ.  
w Needs must when the devil drives.*



\* Enough to shew it was the Devil, for if he did not he lied if he did, not God,

bate \* it ; but to signifie what joy there is in heaven at thy conversion, as also what spirituall motion thou shalt have hereafter. Then he was led out of the house into the street, and through the town, being moved to proclaim as he went *I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life*; after which he was brought to his home, *Will. Dodding*, going along with him, acknowledged that he had no power to leave him at the time, being at home he was cast on the ground, and caused to make circles round the house, the power telling him, that he was putting off the old man; his hand was carried to take up a stone on the floor which to him seemed to be in the fashion of a heart, the voice telling him, that *Christ had taken that stone out of his heart*, (y) & given him a heart of flesh; and his hand was moved to hold it out to the Spectatours, and his fancy to say, *Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe*, and throwing the stone amongst them, he said, *low here is my heart of stone*, afterwards being cast upon the ground on his back, the voice spake, *thou shalt have two Angels to keep thee*: whereupon two Swallows came down the Chimny and set upon a shelf over against the place where he lay and he cryed to by standers *my Angels my Angels*, he held out his hand towards them, expecting them to come to him, but they went up the Chimny, though both the Doors and Windows were open.

He was carried out of the doors, by the power

y What is poor man when deduced.

\* Poor man if no better kept.

wer upon his Hands and Knees into the street, which his wife and others laboured to hinder, but he told them, he would leave all to follow Christ, in that manner he went up the streets thinking he bore a Crosse on his neck, and continued in this motion, till some pulled him out of the mire & dirt and by force carried him into the house, whereupon he was moved to point to one of them that brought him in, and to say, *Christ points at thee, thou art a wicked woman and hast hindered the work of the Lord.* Then the voice asked him *where his Crosse was* telling him he had scattered it, whereupon he was moved to make a Crosse with his finger on the floor and forced to set his head upon it, playing topsy turvy, \* thinking then he had taken up his Crosse. In those actions he was kept along while having many Scripture expressions given in, to the admiration of all that heard him, sometime he was forced to leap and dance, this expression being given into him, *now have I finished the work which thou gavest me to doe, (x)* thinking his redemption then fully accomplish'd: but his joy continued not; for he was cast down again, and the voice told him, *he had offended God in attributing that to himself was proper to Christ (a)* whereupon he was cast upon the ground and lying on his belly he was forced to lick the dust, & his hand carried extraordinarily upon his head, having a voice given him, *that a good no sin must go unpunished*, so creeping up and down the house he heard a voice, *where is thy*

\* Poor man the Devils Maygame

z You see whom & what the Devil delights to abuse.  
a Good but not to end.

Crosse?

Crosse? upon which looking aside, he thought he saw a Crosse hanging in a thread, which with his hand, he put behind his neck, he was kept in this posture all the day, when many Quakers came into him, who spake, *be lowly, mind thy condition and hearken to the voice within.* His strength being almost spent and his body much consumed by continual restlesnesse, two Quakers offered to watch with him that night but he refused, after this he began to question (b) whether the power he was acted by was Divine or Diabolical? whereupon he was struck with fear, and his hand was carried to take up a Knife, which done, his hand was carried towards his throat, and the voice said *open a hole there (c)* and I will give thee the words of eternall life; whereupon he answered, *what with a Knife?* and so threw it away, his wife in the next room hearing him, came out and desired him to go to bed, which he did, & in the morning, he thought a diavel went out of him, at which instant he roared most hideously, crying, *now is the Diavel gone out of me:* at which instant he and his family heard it thunder, (though none in the Town beside) which made him think it was the Diavel, soon after the same power came and told him, that it was Satan that had possesed and led him heretofore, but now Christ was come, and he had cast out Satan, and convinced him, that what ever he had done was in obedience to Satan, and that as he had serv'd the Diavel before in his cloathes, so now he must undoe all, only in his spirit in obedience

b As well  
he might.

c John 8.  
44.  
ἐκ τῆς  
ἀπορίας  
χρῆται.

p. 9

ence to Christ, which rising he immediately endeavoured, going into the street in his shirt, but being stopt, the power told him that he must be carried into the house with four women, or else he should perpetually stand there like a pillar of Salt, so he was born in by four women who carried him into his bed, then he hold them he had been doing the Divels work before but to day he must the work of Christ: and pointing at a woman whom he had pointed at before said, the Divel told me yesterday you were a wicked woman, but now Christs tells me you are Gods servant, the woman being departed, he fell to acting in his shirt upon the bed, as formerly on the floor, playing topsie turvy from one bed to another, and the power bid him not fear, for he would give him strength; and after this, that the Divel had the other day commanded him to bear the cross, but now Christ to lay it down for Christ takes no pleasure in crosses, nor would have him worship them as yesterday; the Divel made thee yesterday to lie on the ground, but now I have provided a bed; giving in this to him, my yoke is easie, promising also to give him, bread of life to eat, and water of life to drink, and that out of his belly shall flow waters of (d) life; whereupon his teeth were caused to move, and he thought he felt in his belly a flowing of waters; he was also perswaded that yesterday the divels angels had waited on him. but now Christs; whereupon he saw two butterflies (e) in the window, to which his hand was carried, & having taken one, he was moved

p. 10.  
 d The Divil is wont to promise more then he can do.  
 e Goodly Angels Swallows and Butterflies.



moved to put it into his mouth, and did swallow it; then he took the other and was moved to put it into his throat, the power telling, it should utter this, saying, *nothing is impossible to them that believe.* After this, he was caused to make circles on the bed; whereupon he began to think, it was not of God, and so began to resist, and thereupon fell into great fear, crying, *Lord what wilt thou have me to doe?* the power told him, that it was too late to cry unto God for sentence was already pronounced against him; whereupon he was convicted the Divell had deluded him.

After a short space, the power again told him, that it was a white Divell had deceived him the latter time, but now Christ was come indeed and would cast him out, (f) whereupon he took that Devil to be cast out, after which as he lay in his bed, all his members fell a working as if the pangs of death had been on him, the power telling him, it was the pangs of the new birth, and that Christ was new born in him, lying in that condition a whole day, the power perswaded him, that he should work wonders, and cast out Devils in his name; soon after two Quakers came to him, to whom he told he had two Devils cast out of him, but now Christ was in him of a truth (g) then the power, I was crowned with a crown of Thorns, but I will crown thee with a crown of Glory, and bad him as a figure thereof to set his fist upon his head, (h) and it should appear to the standers by as a glorious Crown, then said

\* High  
time to  
cry out.

f As  
much as  
before.

g How  
uncertain  
when  
milled  
with  
vice  
right  
within.

h A glori-  
ous  
Crown.

(i)

said he to them, *what do you see?* being Quakers they turned their eyes another way, *the power* \* *The di-*  
*telling him* \* *that they saw the crown on his head,* *vel never*  
*but were so taken with admiration that they could* *wants an*  
*not expresse what they saw,* and bid him tell one *excuse.*  
 of the Quakers present, that he had a Divel in  
 him, and that *Gilpin,* should have power to cast  
 him out; whereupon he said, O! thou hast a  
 Divel in thee *the power* told him, that Quakers  
 should Quake and tremble, *which immediately* *Gilpin.*  
*he did;* the *power* bid him speak to him, *to fall*  
*flat on the ground* which he did, and after a space  
 rose, and he asked him *whether the divell was*  
*gone out of him?* to which he gave no answer  
 but the *power* told him, *the devil was ejected,* the  
 same also told him, who (of those that came to  
 see him) had Devils, who not, and that his wife  
 and mother had divels in them, but he had *po-*  
*wer* given him to cast them out.

After that he began to question whether this  
 were Christ or no whereupon the Divel disco-  
 vered himself telling him, *that all this while he*  
*had been serving him and blaspheming God, and*  
*now it was to late to repent;* whereupon he was  
 brought into despair for a time; at last he began *The divel*  
 to desist from hearkning to *the voice within him,* *will not*  
 and apply himself to God in Christ, whereupon *alway be*  
 he was presently in a great agony, and sweat, *an Angel*  
 and so continued all night, somewhat more *of light;*  
 chearful in the morning, yet not finally resol-  
 ved to desert that way, he was again assaulted by  
 the *power* telling him, that now the Divel was  
 G finally

finally cast out of him, and that the room within him must not be left empty, but that Christ must come and have the whole and sole possession or else Satan would return & reenter with seven other Devils worse then himself, telling him that he was Christ, soliciting him to entertain him, he resisted for a time, but to perswade him he represented to his memory most of the remarkable passages of his life, told him how long he should live, and when die, and that he would strengthen <sup>+</sup> his body, and caused him to rub his body with his hands at which instant he conceived he received strength, and his members to be more in substance then before, with divers other passages, promising him prosperity in the world, and speaking behold a man that hath told thee all things that ever thou didst, is not this the Christ? whereupon he was perswaded to embrace this power thinking it was Christ, whereupon he was sensible of a working throughout his whole body, which soon ceased, and then he thought his condition good and Christ to be really in him. Afterward this power told him, that he had highly offended God in all his former passages in giving way to Satan and that he was guilty of all sins, except that against the Holy Ghost, but that he did it ignorantly, and therefore he had pity on him, he was further perswaded by the power that he should lie seemingly dead, which he did, not daring to stir, till the power moved him; lying thus a while, the power began to move one of his legs, and then

\* Of the Devils renewing strength see Tol-derry case c 5.

then the other, after that his hands, and then his head; at last his whole body, causing him to sit on his bed, telling him, thus should his body be quickned and raised at last day; then the power told him, that he must put off his shirt and cap and napkin about his neck, saying, that ~~whatever was about him was polluted,~~ and that he hated the garments spotted with the flesh; whereupon he pulled them off, and threw them on the ground, saying, that he hated the garments, spotted with the flesh; the power also told him, that all his bonds were broken, and his cords loosned, and that Christ had set him free. Whereupon calling for a clean shirt and other linnen, he rose concluding himself in a good condition, but being up, finding himself no better, his body rather weakned, he began to see he had been deluded; whereupon he was struck with fear, and walking into the Garden he thought one while the Divell would pull him into the Earth, another while into the Air. so that he was afraid to continue abroad, and came into the house and suspected every thing he heard to be the Divel waiting to fetch him away; In this perplexity he began to consider how he had offended in rejecting reading, hearing prayer; and therefore it was just with God to leave him to delusions. (k)

p. 13.

k This the fruit of hearkning to a voice within.

This Relation is not testified only under his own hand, but by severall of known fidelity, living in and near Kendall.

Christopher Atkinson of Kendall in a Pamphlet

p. 14.

p. 13.



wherein he pretends to answer *Gilpin*, denies not the matter of fact, but charges him with drunkenness, and returning to his former filthiness, which is a notorious falsehood; 'tis true, there was information given in against him for drunkenness by a *Quaker* to a *Justice*, one of their own *Faction*, who sent his warrant for him; but *Gilpin* ignorant of it, was absent, being called to serve in the Garrison of *Carlisle*, but did not flee as that *Pamphlet* reports. Some of his friends examined the matter further, and told his accusers it was a forgery; to which some of them answered it was not; for he was drunk with (1) sin, and this was all, that any of his Adversaries would undertake to justify.

[Rare  
proofs

To clear *Gilpin*, there were two testimonies signed by men of unquestioned integrity, acquainted with him

p. 16, 17. 1. Whereas severall *Quakers* have aspersed *John Gilpin*, as guilty of drunkenness and other licentious practices. These are to certify that we have taken speciall notice of his Conversation, during the time of his abode with us, and have found it to be not only Civill, but fital le to the Gospel.

2. Whereas *John Gilpin* is traduced to be scandalous and tainted with drunkenness and other lusts, These are to certify the contrary, and that he is to our knowledge, one that walks soberly, humbly, piously, and without reproofe, not in the least guilty of those wickednesses charged on him; nor did we ever hear otherwise by him,

him, but that he was vertuously inclined, and of a very tender Conscience.

## CHAP. III.

### Of John Tolderry.

**H**E hearing at a private house two *Quakers*, <sup>Foot out</sup> and observing their discourse, tending to of snare, the destruction of (a) *him*, was somewhat affected <sup>P. 3.</sup> with them, and was perswaded to make further <sup>a In words</sup> enquiry after the *Señ*; whereupon, after some observation, he concluded (b) *these people were* <sup>b Upon poor grounds.</sup> of God, sent forth, as witnesses from him *against all others*; but in regard of much strangeness in their way *and bold confidence they had in judging* he was not satisfied to comply with them.

A short time following, being at a private meeting, there came in a stranger, who with an exceeding bold courage, cried aloud, *Praises, praises be to the Lord for ever, who hath hid things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to babes*; and beginning at *Genesis*, he passed through the whole *Scriptures*, and turned all things into *Allegories*, and so declaring what meant by the first, second *Adam*, by the *Fall*, *Redemption*, &c. expressing with confidence, that searching of the *Scripture was not the way to*

39.

ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΕ  
ΤΑΣ ΥΣΑ-  
ΦΑΣ, ΕΚΗ-  
ΝΑΙ ΑΙΣΙΝ  
ΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥ-  
ΣΘΑΙ ΠΡΟ-  
ΕΙΛΩ.

Rom. 10. 2  
ΣΗΛΩΘΕ  
ΕΧΕΣΙΝ

ΑΝΤΙΣΤΑΣΙΝ  
ΑΙΣΙΝ

John 8.  
54.

p. 8.

It is no  
sufficient  
sign, nei-  
ther our  
prayers  
nor Gods  
provi-  
dence  
further  
then  
grounded  
on the  
word.  
The  
heart may  
be much  
affected  
when lit-  
tle herre-  
red, nay  
not at all.  
f Evill  
enough.

find out the knowledge of (a) Christ, but the turn-  
ing the mind to WITHIN. So after about  
an hours discourse with confidence, mighty  
powerfully declared with all seriousness imagi-  
nable, he departed, Tolderry with others being  
strongly affected; whereupon he was acted, zeal-  
ously (b) to follow them, but he remained a  
time before he complied or made himself known  
to any of them.

In the mean while, meeting with one of them  
that gave him to understand, that they were sent  
by Christ to preach the Gospel, by the same Christ  
the Apostles were, and that the person the Son of  
God which died at Jerusalem was not the Redeem-  
er, (c) but the redeemer was in every particular  
man, that light by which he was given to see sin, and  
enabled by it, if obeyed, to be redeemed from sin,  
and declaring of them much to admiration;  
he gave him notice the next day of their meet-  
ing, and the place with earnest invitation.

When he came home, he went to prayers, & be-  
ing mightily carried forth in that duty, very of-  
ten before the times of their meeting, he looked  
on it as a sign d of Gods pleasure he should close  
with them; so at the meeting, three of the chiefest  
were Speakers, whose matter and manner was  
more taking to him then the former; but especi-  
ally the powerful operation of the (e) prayer:  
whereupon he was moved to make a confession of  
himself with the owning of them in the presence  
of all the people, upon which he became sub-  
ject to the teachings of a spirit f in himself; the  
which

which being believed (g) to be the Redeemer, he was fully perswaded, that denying any thing in the least, it required he should not be redeemed. (b)

Hereupon he became subject to divers ceremonies, as not to Master any, not to put off the Hat to any, not to speak the word *you* but *thou*, not to use any Greetings, that bowing to a man was worshipping of him, (k) not to drink to any, to pull off his Points at knees, Bandstrings, Flatband, unnecessary Buttons, some of which he brake to pieces and threw away, burned divers Divinity books, judgeing they were the teachings of the Devil, Gen. 23:7. some made away, others threw away broken in pieces. having in charge the redeeming part of an estate for his Mother, which in a short time was in a fair possibility to be effected, was perswaded under pretence of selfe denial, to desist, by which his mother and many little ones suffered much; but so predominant was the power that he refused the least acknowledgement much more the performance of duty to any. (l)

Coming to perswade his Master to his opinion, he reached a stool, took him by the Arme or Cloak, and bid him set down William Webb, not bowing, not pulling off the Hat, nor calling him Master and afterward denied all relations, then he said to him, how does thy body do? who replied John what's the matter? where is the servants obedience? where the Masters honour? his answer was, my Master is the faithful spirit in me.

A while

g But on what grounds?

h A dread full bondage.

p. 15.

i Ignorance the mother of such conscience

k Very true but is there no worship but divine.

יְקִים

אברהם

ושתחו

לבנות

N. B.

l The Di-

vel will

let nei-

ther God

nor man

have his

due.

Sauls

errand]

p. 17.

p. 14.

7



n Very  
lowly  
done.

o Pride  
with a  
winners.

A while after when his master and company with him were at dinner, he was moved by the power to dine with them, so he went into the room, took a stool and sat down at the head of the (n) table, then some questions being asked him of the duty of the servant, replied, that himself was the servant of God, he nor, therefore had more right to the creatures then he. (o)

In the shop he durst not ask Customers *what they wanted nor make the price but in own word*, if tempted by them to more, he was provoked to look sternly with wrath and envy, that they spake more then was needful, and divers commodities he dealt in having honourable names he was commanded by the power to give them *new names*; he was further perswaded not to eat any thing he loved, and at last was wrought on to eat nothing but *Crumbs*, picking of bones when done with by others, with such food as was destructive to health, he was also kept from eating to the satisfying of nature, so that he became extrem poor and so changed as if not the same man: some weeks eating little more then nature

p In all this  
little of  
Religion;  
a great  
cry, and  
little  
wool.

q A man  
is not  
stark  
naught at  
first.

(p) would have required to eat in one day; going a long Cheap side he saw *Cabbage-stocks* with broken leaves of *Colworts* thrown away by the market Women, at which sight he was enjoined by the power to gather them and carry them home to dresse, and the next food to eat them.

Going to read the Scriptures (q) he found such a strange alteration in many things contrary

trary to what he formerly believed that he was much affected with it, and he was perswaded to read the whole, and in a short time he did believe that there was not any thing expressed there but he had the perfect knowledge of (r) and that Christ that died at Jerusalem was a figure of him, and that himself was the true Christ, (s) and it was revealed to him that the dissolution of all things would be at the end of 63 years, in which time by his and the rest of their teachers Ministry, the Jewes were to be called with the Gentiles who had lost the Gospel immediately after the Apostles times, from which time till now both have lain in blindness serving the Devil. (t)

He also believed he should live to the End and then Christ was to meet him in the mount of God in a multitude of bright Clouds, where he was immediately to be transformed into a celestial body where Christ and he (v) should sit judges of all; he was also perswaded, there was a greater revelation to be made manifest in him then in Christ, or the Apostles (w), whereupon he was enjoined to spend all the time he could in waiting for Revelations, which he did. Whereupon the first time he supposed he heard excellent voices, which made sweet melody; which he believed were spirits sent from God to make known the joy in Heaven because of him, || at which being ravished (y) he was resolved to be pliable to that power which moved him to wait.

A short time after there appeared two spirits

Puffed up with self-conceit.  
Man  
whither?  
if God leave.  
t Matth. 28. 20.  
μὴ ὁμῶν  
πάντας  
τῶν ἡμῶν  
ἐγὼ ἵκω  
τῆς συνά-  
λεις τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας.  
p. 22.  
\*Tolderry.  
v Ego et  
rex meus.  
w Object  
of piety!  
volume of  
pride.  
|| much  
like delu-  
sion in  
Gilpins  
case, c. 2.  
y Raptures  
not al-  
waies  
good.  
in p. 23.

z The  
like  
course ta-  
ken with  
Gilpin.

c. 2.

(e) a Noscitur  
ex sociis  
qui non  
cognoscitur  
ex se.

Hereby is  
the voice  
discerned.

in the likeness of a *mans shade*, which he thought to be his ministring Angels, (z) from whom did proceed *then* excellent things concerning God, Christ, Angels, and Heaven. Following this there came many *such like*; at which sight there was a *voice* spake in him greeting (a) these apparitions; by them it was answered, *that* within 25 daies perfection should be in him; then he should suffer the likeness of that *death* and *resurrection* which was real by him that died at *Jerusalem*; after which he should be sent to preach the Gospel, and *Michael* should live in him, by whom he should be carried to and fro the *world*, and unable to preach, for this 25 daies the *power* willed him to goe private, and all the 25 *nights* he durst not deny the *movings* as he respected *Salvation*; yea, he did not rest one night with another above one houre in a night: most of this time he had the company of these *apparitions*, according as he was moved to desire them, for at desire they would come and goe; and when they came they brought with them excellent Musick, which was alway over his head and followed as he moved; the *apparitions* making merry amongst them (b) selves, dancing, leaping, and flying about the Room.

b Robin  
Good  
fellows.  
p. 24.

c Though  
aloud ly.

The 2d or 3d. night he was by the *power* commanded to stay up all night, about midnight five of those *apparitions* came, one of which as they were flying about the room came & *overshadowed* his face & told him in his eare *that* three of  
the

the seven plagues had been poured forth on him, and because of his obedience to the spirit, two were not, and the other two were to come and that after his resurrection from the dead he should make choice of 12 of the chief speakers among the Quakers to be his Apostles. So parting from him they went to dancing, about an hour after standing by the fire he heard a noise, upon which a voice spake in him *Babylon is fallen, Babylon is fallen*: which he took the meaning of, that all in him which formerly reigned, was thrown down by the coming of Christ; being weary he went to sit down, but was commanded to stand for God was then present: about an hour after he was again overshadowed (d) and by a voice required to pull off his shoes for the place was holy, & that God appeared to him as to Moses, and the appearance to Moses a figure of this; whereon, he pulled off his shoes & was taken with great fear much trembling, pulled off his hat, and being very cold there came a great warmth over the room and then seized on his feet and with a tingling raised it self over his legs, at last over all his body, at which time he trembled exceedingly but durst not stir, the tunes of the spirits were changed into a noise of Bees & the apparitions danced, a voice said he \* was John the beloved of himself as John of Christ, and John a figure of him, he after some time spake, you are the Angels of God owning what revealed, but in speaking he stammered out of fear, then flew one of the apparitions by him saying he had blasphemed

p. 25.

d In darkness all the while

\*Tolderry.



e Very  
true.

*med, (e)* upon which all vanished, as likewise the warmth as it came then was he struck with fear and lay on the floure with his face downward, wallowing and tumbling a short time, he was moved to lye still, and immediatly came the warmth as before, then was he mov'd to rise; upon which came all those apparitions, again and one of them told him now all was wel, by the *power* in him he was raised on his feet, his hands, feet and body mov'd without any consent of his, then was he *commanded by a voice* in him to dance with the apparitions which he did the remainder of the night, and by the *power* was tossed to and fro and moved up and down as a spirit.

p. 27

Having refrained food about day and half, he was moved to go and eat, finding a cost of bief he was at a losse, *one spirit* saying eat, *the other* no, I am the Lord said the former *may but eat*, the case examined, Judgement was determined on the other spirit, so he did eat.

p. 28.

f Very  
true.

Two or three hours after in the Hall, he fancied \* he saw Heaven open, whence a great blast of lightning, at which he was struck down, and immediately an extrem turning in him like as in a hot furnace for little more then half a quarter of an hour, about three hours after, he was moved to go to a meeting of Quakers, *much against his will*, but being in fear durst not deny, and there he was moved to *shake*, which being observed, the command was *Go away*; upon which the *power* grew so to  
*shake*

*shake, teare and rent him*, that he could not have contained, but enabled, it did work like a *strong purge* working an *extreme foam*. When ever did the *H. G.* this work; but how like to the Divell that did tear the child and cause him to foam, in the Gospell?

The next, he was commanded to stay up and wait for *revelations*, whereupon being very drowzie for want of rest, he intreated the *apparitions* he might rest that night; so he had liberty: but going up stairs, a *voice* in him, willed him to go down. so was enjoyned to stay up; and having waited a short time, he could not refrain from rest; then was he perswaded to go against the *Spirit*, but in going, it commanded him to go into the shop; having staid there about halfe an hour, he moved to go up; but going, a *voice* spake behind, to return; then was he commanded by that *in him*, to lie down and humble himself, for he had blasphemed: then he heard another voice, *Nicodemus the betrayer of Christ in the night is in thee*; at which he was extremely troubled; so lying about an hour upon the ground, he was moved to rise; but rising, commanded to lie down again; anon rising, commanded again to lie still, and so diverse times, in the end he was raised on his feet.

In the morning he was commanded to light a fire with dead coles, and being confident of doing it, yea had he been master of the whole world, he should have ventured all with a value  
of

b Height  
of confi-  
dence on  
no ground

of no worth on the performance of (b) it: having laid all in their order, he was moved to blow with his mouth; but not effecting the thing, much troubled: then went he into the Cellar, and there the apparitions came, to whom he complained of failing in his enterprise, it was answered, *he was not yet perfect, but yet should be serviceable in healing lame, sick, blind souls, as Christ the body, and that all the miracles wrought by him did signifie what was to be offered in the souls of them that should be his doctrine.*

p. 31.

For about a week after, he staid up most part of the nights, and strange things were effected by him on the apparitions every night. Once striving against sleep he was by the power in him cast up against the wall and there was infused into him such a refreshment, that all drowziness was destroyed. In the morning he was moved to go to the Quakers meeting, and staying for them in the Garden, a Flie flew in his Face, he was perswaded it was a Messenger from God; from that time he was guided by Flies (i) in many things.

f.) בעלוביב  
p. 32.

When the company came he was commanded to put off his band, and to make known to them the order God required in his creation, which was to gather up the small sticks, and dry leaves and the small irones and pieces of brick scattered in the garden, and lay them by themselves, by diverse friends he was perswaded to give over, but then by the first fly he saw, he was commanded to it again. Going

Going thence he gathered stones in the way and saw two white round stones, which he thought came from Heaven, that in him informed him, one signified *Esau*, the other *Jacob*, therefore he threw the greatest away and kept the lesse, as also (k) signifying that in the Revelation, and was sent him as a token from Christ.

P. 33.

k Any  
thing  
what  
pleased  
the

A short time after about midnight between sleep and wake he saw a Vision of Spirits at which he was strongly mov'd to rise, but being very drowsie fell a sleep, and dream't awaking taken with a fancy, the bed was sinking under him; upon which he was commanded to rise and hast into the Kitchen there he was guided to turn round, and turning saw a light on the wall, at which he stood and looked, and so it ceased, being affraid he went to sit, but was mov'd to stand: looking upon the linnen soaking in water for washing, he was commanded to lay them in better order, for God was the God of order, remembring Christ denied not the least service, he was the speedier subjected, upon which readinesse he was set free.

P. 34.

Then mov'd to sit and look on the blaze of the candle to be directed to service by the blaze, or the sparkles proceeding thence but not able to apprehend the meaning thereof, he was tormented and stamp't and flew up and down like mad (Y) he then came to the fire and was moved to look thereon in expectation to be directed by the flame or sparks, but tired in looking

P. 35

/ Little  
better.

he



he cast his eyes upward, and seeing something swim upon a Kettle on the fire, and looking thereon he had a command from the spirit in him, *on account of salvation*, to put his hand in the water, telling him the heat should not seize on him, but through fear standing a little he saw something falling to the ground, which was a thing like a great Fly, he was then commanded to look as fierce as he could on it, and enjoined to hold his leg to the fire, and to observe the direction of the fly to the burning of it, so the fly moved to the earth, then he went close to the fire, and there held his leg with both hands to the fire as the fly stood, so the fly moved sometime neerer, then farther, sometime turning the one side, sometime the other, sometime round then to the same place again, so he his leg accordingly; about the third part of an hour the heat burning in his leg, then *the power* perswaded him he would heale his leg, so he durst not make it known though burnt from the knee to the foot: being about his employment, he was moved to give over, but not presently obeying there came diverse flies and rested on what he was about, so leaving he was moved to wrastle and war with himself three times, which he did like mad, (m) then he was given to understand this was a preparation against his sufferings and had respect to *Christs Agony*, then he was directed to look about and spyed a needle in his sleeve which he was moved to take in his hands and thrust both ends through his thumbs, and after-

m Easily  
believed.

P. 37.

afterward to the bone, then he was commanded to stand on a box by the wall, and to turn his back to the wall and spread his hands one on the other with the needle in his thumbs, and so lift his Arms over his head and then strain his Arms and Body as high he could with the backs of his hands to the wall, so to liken a death on the Crosse, and he gave way to a drowsynesse as though a dying and fell on the ground as dead, he was moved to spread shavings over him, as sheets; then to tye a handkerchief on his head, then he lay on his back three quarters of an hour in imitation of three dayes, then he was raised on his feet, and commanded to make this known to the Quakers, & to make choice of some of them to be his Apostles, so he ran forth in expectation to fly by the power of *Michael*, which he believed now in him, but not fleeing he was much troubled; upon which he was commanded to put off his shoes, which he did, and so made way with all speed to the house and gave them to understand that Christ meaning himself was risen, shewing the holes in his thumbs upon which he was looked upon with a strange look and charged to be silent, there being many there and judging him with one consent, he was silenced. (u)

Practical  
blasphemy.

That these relations may not seem fabulous time he concludes page 45. [in the presence of the Eternal God, that he hath endeavoured to make known the truth and that to his knowledge he lies not in anything, and much of this may be

H

justi-

justified by many] and after the Epistle to the Reader there is this certificate [*We whose names are subscribed being certified of the contents and circumstances of the discourse ensuing, and some of us having perused a part, and others the whole of it are fully satisfied of the truth of things reported in it.*

Thomas Brooks, Thomas Jacomb,  
George Cokeyn, William Alderry,  
John Goodwyn, John Tombes,  
William Jenkyn, Mathew Poole,

## CHAP. IV.

*Of James Naylor.*

*Saul's  
cirand*

*p. 29. 30.*

**W**HO gives this account of himself, that he was born at *Ardislaw* two miles from *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire*, where he lived untill he was married, then went into *Wakefield* parish, a Husband-man, a Souldier betwixt eight and nine years, and of turning Quaker gives this account, that he was at the Plow meditating on the things of God, and suddenly he heard a voice saying *get thee out from thy Kindred and Fathers House* and had a promise given in with it that God would be with him; whereat he did exceedingly rejoyce, and when he came home he gave up his estate, cast out his mony, but not being

being obedient in going forth, the wrath of God was on him so that he was made a wonder to all, and none thought he would have liv'd, but after he was made willing he began to make some preparations, as apparel, and other necessities, not knowing whether he should go, but shortly after going a gateward with a friend from his own house, having on an old Suit without any money, having neither taken leave of Wife and Children, nor thinking then of any journey, he was commanded to go into the *West* not knowing whether he should goe, nor what he was to do there, but when he had been there a little while. it was given him what he was to declare and ever since he hath remained, not knowing to day what he was to do to morrow.

We shall not question the matter of fact, but the question is from whom this; from God or the Diavel, neither shall I spend words to resolve the doubt, the following story perused and considered, is sufficient to determine.

On the 24th. of *October* 1656. he entred into *Bristol* on Horse-back, with *Timothy Wedlock* of *Devon*, two *Women* leading his horse, with the *Reynsin* in their hands, (a) *Martha Symonds* and *Hanna Stranger* Wives to two in *London*, these came before him singing, *Holy, Holy, Holy; Lord God of Israel*; thus he rode to the *high Crosse* and to the *White-horse* in *Broad street*.

The Quakers Jesus.

p. 3.

Ill lead that gives the reins to women

The Magistrates informed hereof, sent that night for him and his Disciples seven in number, but such was their singing *Hosanna*, and



Holy, holy, &c with the concourse of people that their examination that night was not much, so they were committed to Newgate till next day. Saturday the 25. he was sent for again and examined, was very ready in his answers to Circumstances; but wherein he thought the Question might discover him, he would either be silent or answer subtilly; also denying some things put to him out of his own Book;

p. 4.  
p The  
Devil.

Being asked, *What was his businesse to Bristol,* answered, *He came as he was guided by his (p) Father: Whether he was a Prophet,* Answered, *that he is the Prophet of the most High God. Que. Are you the onely begotten Son of God?* Answ. *He was the son of God, and the son of God is but one. Qu. Whether he be the everlasting son of Righteousnesse?* Answ. *That he is the son of God, and everlasting righteousnesse is wrought in him; and said, If they had known the Father, they would him also. Qu. Whether he were the King of Israell?* Answ. *Thou hast said it, and he hath no Kingdom in the world, but reigneth in the Father. Q. Are you the Lamb of God in whom the hope of Israel stands?* Answ. *That if he were not his lamb, he should not be thus sought for to be detoured, and that the hope of Israel stands in the righteousness of the Father in whomsoever it is. Q. Why came he in such manner into the City?* Ans. *It was for the praises of his Father, and he might not refuse any thing moved of the Lord, and that their Father commanded them to see \* it. Q. Whether as he rode from Glossebury*

\* They will not worship men with putting of the hat but take worship from men as i due only to God.

bury and Wells some did not spread their  
cloathes on the ground before him, and sing Holy,  
holy? Ans. He believed they did. Qu. Whether  
he had a wife? Ans. There is a woman the world  
called bis (c) wife.

c Very  
probable  
hedid not  
own her  
his wife.

p. 10.

d The  
God of  
this

world  
that rules  
in the  
children  
of disobe-  
dience.

\* \* Goodly  
confessor.

e She  
speakes  
plain.

f Poor  
Woman!

g Whe-  
ther may  
not a

poor  
soul be  
missed?

h Where  
is that  
command

written  
the very

light  
within  
conscience

will shew  
a sinful  
man not

October 27. Dorcas Erbury one of his Disciples  
was examined before the Magistrates of Bristol.

Quest. Why did you sing holy, holy, &c. before  
James Naylor when he rode in? Answ. She did  
not, but they that did were called to it by the (d)

Lord. Q. Is James Naylor the holy one of Israel?

Answ. He is so, and she would seal it with her \*

God? Answ. He is the onely begotten Son of

(e) God. Qu. Why did you so honour him as to

pull off his stockins and put your cloaths under his

feet? Ans. Because he is the Lord of Israel and

worthy of it. Q. Do you know no other Jesus

the only begotten son of God but him? Answ. I

know no other Saviour but (f) him. Q. Do you

believe in James Naylor? Answ. I do believe in

(g) him. Q. What Name do you give him? A.

The son of God. Q. VVhat do you call him usu-  
ally? A. I am commanded to call him Lord and

Master and to serve (h) him. Q. Hath Naylor

raised from the dead? A. I was dead two dayes,

he laid his hands on my head in Exeter Gaol, and

said; Dorcas, arise. Q. Jesus sits at Gods right

band, and shall judge the world, Doth Naylor

thus? A. Naylor shall sit at the right hand of

the father and judge the world.

The Magistrates sent to a Parliament man a God.

copy of these Examinations, and upon Report to the House, a Committee was chosen to take notice of it, and a Messenger sent for Naylor.

p. 6.

The Magistrates sent Naylor for London 10. November with four Disciples of his, Stanger and his Wife, Martha Symonds, and Dorcas Erbury. Upon the 15th. the Committee met in the painted Chamber and had Naylor in Examination. Q. Did you reprove the Woman for holding the horse bridle? A. No but I spake to them about it, and they said they were moved of the Lord to it, Q. It is laid to your charge, you did assume to your self the faith of ten thousand. A. If any spake it to that of the Father in me, I dare not deny for its beautifull in whomsoever begotten. Q. Do you own that of being that only begotten son of God? A. I am the son of God. Q. Do you own being the King of Israel? A. I have no Kingdome in this World, but a Kingdome I have. Q. Do you own the title King of Israel Prince of peace. A. It is but one and that of God born in me is the King of Israel, Jesus Christ is the King of Israel is manifested in me, and I own. Q. Have any called you the Prophet of the most high God? A. I am a Prophet of the most high God. Q. Is then that worship due to you which was to Christ? A. If they did it to the visible they were to blame, but if to the invisible, that worship is due to me according to my measure as was due to Christ. Q. then you say that worship was due, and to that which you call the invisible in you, to you as was given

given to Christ at Jerusalem. A. Yea. Q. How (i) They many weeks have you fasted without bread. A. will not give civil Two or three. Q. Did you live without any food all that time? B. Yea. worship but take divine, is not this divelish pride?

Upon the fourth of December report was made to the house, & on the sixth he was brought to the Commons-bar where having his Examination taken before the Committee read unto him, and asked whether things were thus, he answered yea, and denied not any part thereof. Whereupon the house agreed on the matter of fact, and adjudged it horrid blasphemy and he a grand impostor, and deceiver of the people, and ordered him close prisoner.

p. 13.

After 8 or 9 dayes debate on the 16 of December, it being carried that the question for his death should not be put, the house Voted his punishment, that upon the 18th. of December he stand in the pillory two hours in the new palace yard with a paper of his crime on his breast, and then presently to be whipt by the Hangman to the o'd Exchange, on the 20 to be put in the pillory for two hours before the exchange, and then bored through the tongue with a hot Iron and stigmatized with the letter B in his forehead, afterwards by the Sheriff of Loud. to be conveyed to Bristol & there ride through the City on a horse with his face to the tail, and then publickly whipt through the Town, and by the Sherffs of Bristoll to be conveyed to Bridewell in London, there to be kept close prisoner from company, pen, inck, and paper, kept to hard labour and not to be released till further order.

Naylor's punishment.



December 17th. he was brought to the bar to receive the sentence on the 18th. the sentence in palace yard executed upon the indisposition of body, and a petition of some for respite upon that account, the rest of his sentence was deterred for a weeke.

p. 16.

A Wor-  
thy man.

On the 23 of December there came neer about an hundred men with a petition for the remitting the rest of his punishment, delivered in by Mr. Joshua Sprigge (k) and subscribed in the first place by Col. Scrope, the petition being not like to take, they made their addresse to Oliver Cromwell, as follows.

p. 17.

m What a  
do for a  
wretched  
blasphemer?

Sheweth] that your petitioners (having out of tenderneffe to the good cause of our spiritual and civil Liberties) concerned in some late proceedings of the house of Parliament, and to the good of these Nations and Government thereof appeared in a petition to the Parliament, for [the remitting of the remaining punishment of J. Naylor, which petition is received into the house and rests there; we humbly conceive it our duty also, in consideration of the joynt interest which your Highness with the Parliament hath by the instrument of Government in the Legislative power to make our humble addresses to your Highnesse (m) that you will be pleased, according to all former declarations, and the experience we have had of your Highnesses care of this tender interest of Liberty of Conscience, to weigh the consequence of these late proceedings and according to the 17th. article of the instrument and one of the grounds you declare upon

open in the war with Spain/your Highnesse will stand up for the poor people of God, (n) in this day, wherein your Highness will not do more right to your petitioners, then to your self and these Nations. (o)

December 26th. his Highnesse sent a letter to the house as followeth.

Having taken notice of a Judgement against James Naylor, although we detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions or practises, yet being interested in the Government and not knowing how far such a proceeding wholly without us, might extend in the consequences of it, do desire the house will let us know the grounds whereon they have proceeded.

This Letter caused a great debate, and answer was not then agreed upon, but another day appointed, in the mean while the Parliament ordered Naylor the remainder of his punishment, which upon 27th. of December was executed on him, and so sent again to prison.

At this time of his being in the pillory, one Robert Rich standing by him, placed a paper over Naylor's head, wherein was written, *This is the King of the Jews.*

January 16th. he was sent by the Sheriffs of London to Bristol, and the Sheriffs of Bristol before that, had a warrant under the Speakers hand to see the sentence executed as far as they were concerned therein.

January 17th. Naylor took horse at Lawford gate

<sup>n</sup> Upon what account is Naylor one of them.

<sup>o</sup> It had been better at this day had he more appeared against such, then for them.

O. C's. Letter.

P Very tender of inroachment.

gate and rod on the horse bare ridged with his face to the tail through the City without Redcliffe gate and there alighted & was brought to the middle of Thomas street and there stript, and then tyed to the horse to be whipt from thence back again to the middle of Broad-street.

p. 20.

This order to the favouring of him, was sent to the Keeper of Newgate by one not named by the Author.

Naylor  
favoured.

Cause Naylor to ride in at Lawford-gate, from thence along Wine-street to the Tolsey, thence down High-street over the Bridge, and so out at Redcliff-gate, there let him alight and bring him into Thomas-street, and cause him to be stript, and there made fast to the Cart-horse, and in the Market first whipped, from thence to the foot of the Bridge there whipt, thence to the end of the bridge there whipt, thence to the middle of High-street there whipt, thence to the Tolsey there whipt, thence to the middle of Broad-street there whipt, and then tane into the Taylors-Hall, there release him from the Cart-horse, and let him put on his cloathes, and carry him thence to New-gate by Tower-lane the back way.

And whereas of custome the Bellman goes before and makes Proclamation of the offence of the Offendour, yet here the Keeper commands the Bellman to the contrary, and suffers one Jones to hold back the Beadles arm when striking, and in all the way the Bell rang but six times.

And one Robert Rich rid bare before him,  
singing,

singing, *Holy, holy*, who December 15. sent in to the Speaker this Letter.

If I may have liberty, I do here at the door attend, and am ready out of the Scriptures of truth to shew, that not any thing *James Naylor* hath said or done, is blasphemy or worthy of death or bonds.

Many other Quakers accompanied *Naylor*, and when he was going to horse, at the Gate used these Expressions :

*Behold the Lamb of God*, saith one; *This is the Corner-stone which the builders refused*, another; *They shall look upon him whom they have pierced (and wept,)* another; *Let all the Angels in heaven worship him*, another; *Give honour to whom honour belongeth*, another.

p. 22:

Yet this very *Naylor*, January, 16. the night he came thither, at the *Lamb* without *Lawfords-gate* was suspected to have a woman in bed with him; for in the Oath taken before the Mayor, sworn by *Thomas Jefferies* and *Ruth Harris*, the Maid and Tapster saw a woman at 10 a Clock at night on the further side of the bed, and covered, lying with her arms over the Rug; and the Maid did swear that about 5 of the Clock the next morning the woman was lying in the same place and manner.

After this, the Sheriffs of *Bristol* sent him to the Governours of *Bridewell*, London, who before had received order from the Speaker, as to that



that of the Sentence wherein they were concerned, were he was kept prisoner till of late he was discharged by them that then bore sway.

---

## CHAP. V.

Clark's  
mirrour.  
c. 63. p.  
262.

### *Of sundry Practises of divers Quakers of late years.*

a For  
which  
they com  
passe  
Sea and  
Land ha-  
ving been  
in France,  
Holland,  
Rome,  
New Eng-  
land, Bar-  
bados, &c.  
So eager  
of New  
England  
that very  
death it  
self  
would  
not de-  
ter them.

1. **A** Bout Octoober, 1653. certain Quakers came into North Wales about Wrexham to gain (a) Profelytes, at their meetings; after long silence, sometimes one, sometimes more fell into great and dreadfull shakings with such swellings in their bodies, sending out such shriekings and howlings as not only frightened the beholders, but caused Dogs to bark, swine to cry, and the cattel to run about. One William Spencer lying with one of them three nights, the last night was much troubled and could not sleep; on a sudden, he heard something buzzing about the Quakers head, which affrighting him, he sought to rise, but the Quaker perswaded him to lie still, and immediately there  
rose

rose such a storm as shook the house; then he again attempted to rise, but the Quaker pressed him to lie still, and expect the power to come, he then again heard the former humming, so that he strove vehemently to rise, but the quaker <sup>b</sup> Very laid his head on *Spencers* shoulders, and did like. blow like the hissing of a Goose (*b*) several times toward his mouth, which made him leap out of the bed, crying for a light and guide to conduct him forth, and so left them altogether.

P. 263.

2. October, 19. 1654. A Minister went with some friends to a meeting of Quakers at the house of one *J. Hunter* in *Benefeld* side in *Durham* where he found about twenty sitting silent, after a while the minister of his own accord, rose up to prayer, but his legs so trembled that he had much ado to stand, but after he had prayed a short space, the trembling ceased, whilst he prayed to God as a Creator, there was but little disturbance, when in the name of Christ then (*c*) the Quakers roared, in a strange and hideous manner, howling, squeaking, yelling, roaring, and some had a strange kind of humming noise after he had done, he was amazed to see about the one half of them so terribly shaken that it was a wonder they liv'd. In the midst of this confusion one of them asked him, if he was come to torment them? As he was departing out of the house, one said, *all the Plagues of God be upon thee.* (*d*)

<sup>c</sup> Enemies to Christ for all their talk.

<sup>d</sup> Very Christian like.

Quakers Jesus.

3. July 10. 1656. one reasoned with a Quaker,

P. 305

ker who told him that he did thank God he had burnt (c) the bible and diswaded him from reading it any more, or praying any more but

(c) R. B. to hearken to the light within him.

Queries

10. do not

some of

you say

the bible

ought to

be burnt?

4. The same year diuerse quakers being met together in a Town in Essex there appeared one amongst them in such a shape as caused them to break up their meeting with no small terrour to many of them.

Clarks  
mirrour.

p. 271.

5. A Quaker the same year being put into Prison at Cholchester abstained from all food for diuerse days together, when he was prevailed with to eat, nature was spent, and when he would have eaten he could not, and so died, his name was Parnel, fasted eight or nine dayes: after he was laid in his grave, a Quaker waited by his grave to the end of three days expecting his resurrection, but not rising he ran mad and so continued many weeks.

Hellbreke  
loose.

p. 54.

6. William Paul a professed quaker servant to George Knight Clothier of the City of Worcester on Feb. 1657. at even went out of his Masters house, and some dayes after found dead and naked with his Face downward in a puddle of water, his cloaths lying by, the inquest found him guilty of self murther, his friends on 22 of Febr. had interred in Claynes Church-yard two miles from the City, and after he had been buried six or seven hours one Susannah Pinson a quaker

Hellbroke  
loose.

p. 36.

quaker in that City undertook to raise him from the dead, wherupon she took three or four of her way, went to the place, caused his body to be taken up, laid on the ground, opened his shroud, touched him and called him by his name, saying *arise and walk*, with other expressions, many being present, but she returned with shame.

7. A Female quaker about four or five years since came into *Whitehall* Chappel stark-naked on the Lords day, the Minister being in the pulpit, a great Congregation being present. P. 32.

8. A Maid-servant at Putney at her Masters house, when he and many friends were at Dinner with him, came into his Parlour amongst them stark-naked, and another day stark-naked from her Masters house through *Wandsworth* and to *Lambeth*, or neer it, where some Water-men, by force, stop'd her, and carried her back. It was said, she intended to have entred *London*, over the Bridge, and so to have gone through *London* streets unto *Westminster*. P. 33.

9. In Summer, 1659. in *Colchester* a Man-quaker went stark naked through all the *Market*, and on a Lords day in the same posture entred into the greatest Assembly in that Town, walking unto the further end of the lower cross through many people and then returned, and P. 33.



and from thence to a great company of *quakers* in that Town, where he did for a long time act the part of a Speaker, and when he went naked he had a brother waiting on him, carrying his cloaths after him.

10. The same Summer a Man-quaker went naked down *Cheapside*.

11. This last Summer, at *Colchester*, many of them on the *Lords day* have opened their shops and followed their handy-crafts calling for many weeks together; the like hath been done severall Lords dayes by them in *London* and *Southmark*;

12. At the same place this Summer a woman brought her needle-work into a Church, and fell to work and singing, while the Minister was officiating, not much unlike, in *London* by a woman in *Lawrence-Church*.

13. At *Aldermanbury, London*, a quaker after once being frustrated in his attempt, did while the *Psalm* was singing, before the Minister went up, got into the Pulpit, there sat on the cushion with his foot on the stool or seat, and with a needle and thread sowed a pocket, untill pulled down; since which, he hath printed the reason of his so doing, that he could have no rest in his spirit till he had done it. (f)

f This is following of the light within.

The

The person was *Samuel Eurlles*, and as he himself relates it p.2. he sate down upon the Cushion with his feet upon the Seat ( where the priest when he hath told his Lies doth sit down ) sowing a pocker, so that the people lost their Song.

14. Since that, in the same place, and time a man Quaker came into the Assemblie stark naked, his hands and Arms all besmeared with Excrements, and there are that have had the face to justifie him, that he might as well come with *such filth* in his hands, as the Minister with a Bible. You see how they value it.

15. *Nicholas Kate* of *Harwel* in *Berks* about the year 1656 came into *Newbery* between 8. and 9. in the morning, on the *Lords day*, and so walked stark naked through a long street, who for many Months before, had not lived as a Husband with his Wife, left his own Family, Land, and Stock of a very considerable value, entred upon by persons whom the Country esteem *Ranters*, his Wife a weak diseased Woman, who brought him a valuable portion, left to the mercies of those persons. Ford and Fowlers ans. to Speed p.75.

Months before, had not lived as a Husband with his Wife, left his own Family, Land, and Stock of a very considerable value, entred upon by persons whom the Country esteem *Ranters*, his Wife a weak diseased Woman, who brought him a valuable portion, left to the mercies of those persons. This light is not natural.

16. A Physician in *Lincoln* with his consent was made a Quaker for 24. hours by a Quaker, who he privately convicted to be a man in popish orders beyond Sea: the agreement was, that at the end of 24. hours, he should cease to be a Quaker, which so fell out, but he affirmed that for that time; he could not choose but preach and pray at the Quakers rate, but at the end of the time he found himself exceeding weary, and as indis-

posed to such work as ever.

Is this following light within them? or rather putting it out.

17. Some Quakers killed *their Mother*, following *the light within them*, which taught them they ought to destroy *the original* of sin, and by the said light, they apprehend *their Mother* to be the *Original*, and so embued their hands in her blood, this relation is in Mr. William Keyes Minister of *Stokesby*, in his answer to 18 Quakers, who was with them in prison.

Hell broke loose. p. 46

18. A Maid in *London*, met by a Quaker who addressed himself to her with suits of Love, was perswaded to drink with him, he took something out of a paper, and put in the drink, and in discourse told her, *She should come after him, and not he after her*, the Maid after this found pressing inclinations to go to the Quakers meetings, and was brought into strange raptures, and her mind much turned against the Bible. & Some of her godly friends kept a day of fasting and prayer for her, with whom she was, though with much reluctancy; while they were seeking God, she was greatly tormented, her body so much swelled, that they were fain to unloose her cloaths to give her ease, but before the dayes work was finished, she was delivered from this sore evil, the Substance of this relation was had from the Maids own mouth.

God can cast out the strong one.

pag. 47.

A woman so low in parts, that she was looked on not much better then a *Natural*. being at a Quakers Meeting in *Buckinghamshire* nor far from *Aylesbury*, was suddenly so transported, that with much liberty and confidence she spake in  
their

their tone in matters above her, and continued in those raptures for about two dayes, but after fell into a grievous rage, cursing, swearing, and blaspheming, crying, *Fox* a Divel, a Divel, a cheif Quaker present at the meeting, and so continued a day or two, till she dyed.

20. A Gentleman inclined to the Quakers, <sup>m</sup> Where- ther this (though his Wife not) brought *Fox* the Qua- cometh ker into her Chamber, who laid his hand on her forehead, after which she became a Quaker <sup>not under witchcraft</sup> for a certain time, this was related from the <sup>pag. 48.</sup> Gentlewomans own Mouth, <sup>m</sup>

21. One in *Kent* going to a Quakers mee- <sup>n</sup> Whether ring, was there so wrought upon, that he such fell to dancing, and afterward went home un- things fall der great alteration of mind, the violent im- not under pression of which soon ended his life, having the Laws before he dyed, in his violent fits complained cogni- grievously of *Fox* his holding him in Chains, <sup>n</sup> Quakers zance.

22. February 5. 1659. one *Lewis Harris* a <sup>Jel. 5. p. 55.</sup> Quaker, having been in the Country, came home to his house at *Bristol*, and meets with *William Hill* a Quaker, and he asks *Harris*, why he fell from his principles, and further discoursing of their way, they came to blows, and *Harris* murders *Hill*, for which Aug. 31. he was at *Bristol* executed, this *Harris* had a Letter from some Quakers, which when on the Gallows he conveyed to a minister nere him, which the minister presently tore, upon which, some Quakers present, what will you persecute to the death,



Perfect  
Pharisee,  
P. 49.  
More of  
him, f. 34.

23. *Christopher Atkinson* a grand Leader of the Quakers, and a propheticall impostor for a good while together, had very immodest familiarity (to say no more) with a woman of this way, in the sight of *Mr. Walker*, then Minister at *Kendal*.

24. November 21. 1653. the Wife of *Edmond Adlington* of *Kendal*, went naked through the streets of the said Town.

25. *George Fox*, meeting with one *Mr. Nichols* in *Carlisle*, told him that he was an Hypocrite, he asked him if he knew his heart, he said he did; he asked him again, *Fox* affirmed again he did, he asked if he knew his name, *Fox* answered, *I know by thy Questions thou art an Hypocrite*, shuffling so to evade his question to whom *Mr. Nichols* answered, dost thou know my heart and not know my name? p

26. A Weaver followed a Company of Quakers from *Coaton* to *Cambridge*, intreating them all the way, what their Religion was. and how he might come to be of their Religion, they gave him no other answer but this, *that he should follow the light within him*, he asked them what it was, and they would not tell him. q

27. A Quaker brought one *Lords-day*, an old Doubler into a Church in *London*, and sate on the Communion Table mending it, while the Minister was preaching, the Parishioners forbidding him. The Church was *Doctor Gells*. And it being demanded whether this in him was a sin? a Quaker replies in print to him that made the

the Quarry, he sinned not, wilt thou still continue a Papist? R. B. at the end of the gagg. *in a bal*  
p. 7, 9, 36.

28. Certain Quakers ran after *Henry Daril* a *Tanner of Richmond*, almost a mile, whilst he was walking to see his ground, and told him with open mouth, that the Spirit of God sent them to tell him he was a Seducer of the people, one of the corrupt Clergie, while it is commonly known, he neither is, nor was, a Clergy-man nor Preacher. Concerning this story, a Quaker answers, thou and thy brethren lyes, Reply. Witnesse H. Daryl, William Williamson and diverse others in Richmond. *R. B. Quakers*

29. In September 1659. there was a discovery of diverse Witches, in and neer Sherburne in Dorsetshire; there being nere two hundred of them at one meeting, most of them Quakers and Anabaptists, three Men, and two Women, formerly Quakers & committed to Dorsetshire Goale, who have confessed on examination, and since their commitment, to sundry of quality: *Agagg for Quakers after the Epistle. Whether at last.*

1. That when the Diavel first appeared to them and tempted them to become Witches, he perswaded them to renounce their Baptism, which they actually did, before they made a contract with him.

2. That he did oft visibly appear to them, in sundry forms, and perswaded them to fall down and worship him, which they did.

3. That he instigated them to torment, be-  
 \* You see witch, and destroy Mr. *Lyford*, Minister of whom the *Sherburne*, who being tormented with a pain- Devil is so ful and sharp disease, dyed; and Mr. *Bamsfeld* set against his Successor, whom they have forced by their Witchcrafts to desert the Town. \*

4. The two Women confess to all, that the Diel hath oft had actual copulation with them in sundry shapes.

5. Since their Imprisonment, he hath frequently appeared to them all, and actually possessed them, bruising, tearing, tossing them frequently up and down the Prison, in a strange manner, tormenting them with strange fits of Convulsions, quakings, shakings in all their joynts, and swellings in their whole bodyes, that their Skins are ready to break, which makes them cry and roar with great horreur, as Eye-witnesses of quality attest.

The Po-  
 stance of  
 Quakers.

Q. 10  
 Whitehead.  
 p. 3. f. 6. at  
 end of A-  
 gagg.

\* The  
 thing  
 there is  
 not deny-  
 ed but pal-  
 liated.

R. B. p. 21.

Q. 72.

30. In *Sanles Errand* p. 4. 5. it is confest, that at some of their meetings, many men, wo- men, and little children, have been strangely wrought upon in their bodies, and brought to fall, foam at mouth, roar and swell in their Bellies, and whereas it is answered, that is a Lye, it is replied, Let the Reader consult the Book, and beleive his own eyes.

31. *Thom. Holim* of *Kendal*, went naked as he was born, through the Market place at *Kirby-Stephen*

Stephen, one Market day Octob. 28. saying, 'Tis not I, but God, that goes naked. See the Witness in the 5. New-castle Ministers answer to I. N. p. 84. Horrid.

32. The Lord Cheif Baron Wild, the first day of the Term, and Novemb. 11. 1659. was bareheaded, and twenty Quakers about him, with their hats on, half an hour together. Pag. 22. Q. 78.

33. James Mitener, a follower of George Fox, professed himself to be God and Christ, and gave out Prophecies, viz. that the day of Judgement, should be on the 15. of November, 9. Pag. 23. Q. 87. Sauls Errand p. 2.  
\* and that there should never sit Judge at Lancaster again. \* In this not infallible. R. B. Q. 89. 90.

34. Was it not a sin in Christopher Atkinson, fellow Preacher, and bosome companion to George Whitehead, to comit frequent fornication with Ursula Servant to Thomas Symonds, as both he and she confessed before the Mayor of Norwich, and July 4. 1655. run away from Norwich-Goale, and carrying thence goods not his own, and after he professed Repentance for his lewdnesse with Ursula, did he not practise greater Villanie at the George Inne in Thurton, six miles from Norwich. See the relation of these matters, printed for Franklin, and attested by the Maior of Norwich. See more of him before. f. 23.

35. A Female Quaker, was taxed, for breaking of the Rule, Let the Woman keep Silence in the Church, for it is not permitted for them to speak. replied, it was spoken of Women that have Husbands at home to learn of, but I have none and am a Maid. Quakers Folio, 2. p. 59.

36. Ano-



36. Another, who was a Wife, being challenged for preaching publickly, and that Scripture urged against her, *I suffer not a woman to teach and usurp authority over the man*, readily replied, that was spoken of the Woman who was in the transgression, but I am not one of them.

P. 1. of the  
in the end  
narrative  
of Q. F.  
Vol. 2.  
Papists pe-  
jor.

37. One of them lately at *Dover*, when he came to die, upon the Question put to him, how he expected Salvation, answered, *that he expected Salvation by his own works and not by Christ*. Witness Mr. Davis Minister at *Dover*, our hearty prayer to God is, that we may neither thus live nor dye.

Q. Folio  
v. 2. nar-  
rative p. 2.  
1659.  
Reckoned  
without  
his host.  
pag. 3.

38. At a late meeting of the Quakers, in *Hurst-peirpoint* in *Sussex*, the Speaker called out to the Minister passing by, *We will have you all down, for now our day is come*.

"They are  
much be-  
holding to  
him for his  
care.

39. Another in *Nuthurst* parish, in the same County, did say to a godly person of good quality, in that parish, that he *no more cared* to kill one of the Priests, then he would to kill a Dog.

40. Another Quaker way-laid the Minister of *Cowmould*. and juttled him on the high way, and drew out his Sword about half way, but from further was prevented by others coming in.

41. Mr. *Wingfield* Minister at *Word*, did testifie under his hand, Aug. 3. 1659. that *Luke Howard* of *Dover* Quaker, did say in his hearing, July 25. 1659. upon the Road neer *Dover-castle*, that it was revealed to him by the eternal God, that

that the priests shall be destroyed, and by the people who are called Quakers.

42. E. B. Quaker. p. 2. in his *Word of Advice to the Soldiers*, saith, *Oh! give the Priests bloud to drink for they are worthy.*

43. On the *Lords day* 18. Sept. 1659. W. Naylor Brother to James, came into the *Savoy Church* Mr. Hooke preaching, and made such a bellowing, that it seemed to be rather the Diuel in him, then his own voice, Mr. Hooke was necessitated to hold his peace, many sadly affrighted, that some ran one way, some another. \* Testified by Mr. Hook, his Wife and others.

44. Octob. 6. 1659, at a publick thanksgiving at *Christ Church, London*, the Parliament, Lord, Maior, Aldermen, Common Council, Officers of the Army, being hearing Mr. Caryl, two Quakers made a very great disturbance. p. 4.

45. March 5. 1659. Mary Todd of *Southwark*, Quaker, at the *Bull and Mouth*, while some were speaking, pulled up her Coats above her middle and walked so up and down a while, using several base expressions, Mr. Thomas Cresset, Chirurgion, an Eye and Ear witnesse.



## CHAP. 6.

## Of their Opinions.

*Translating  
the words  
into  
Latin.*

**B**Y which you may easily discern, how far they are from being sound in the faith, and take along withal, this aggravation [*let their sentiments be never so diametrically opposite to the written verity yet they will father it upon the Spirit of truth, and he must be made the immediate inspirer of these falsities, not being ashamed to make him grossely contradict himself, but also to beare witness to a lie.*] for when they want a Shadow of Scripture, then they will stamp their error with the Image and Supercription of the Holy Ghost immediately revealing, and Christ the light within them, must be made to hold out palpable darkness.

Therefore they lay down as a foundation-truth a blasphemous falsehood, to build their Structure of untruths upon, viz, [*That their dictates are equal to those of Christ and his Apostles.*] a Herein not unlike the Papists, who for the better establishing of their Churches authority make.

a R. B. Questions to whitehead at end of the gagg. p. 3. f. 7. do not you esteem your speakings to be of as great authority as any Chapters in the bible.  
Answ. yea of greater.

1. The

1. The Pope an infallible judge.
2. Unwritten Traditions equal to the written word, therefore Bellarmine hath,

*Verbum dei scriptum, & non scriptum.*

To make this evident concerning the Quakers.

1. Mr. Camelford Minister of Staffy Chappel Lancashire, having told Thom. Atkinson (in answer to his Quaries) that his Quaries were condemned to the fire, George Fox replies, you might not have condemned the Scriptures to the fire. And without breach of charity we may affirm the burning of the Scriptures would not have been offensive to him <sup>a</sup> for indeed

*Truths defence, p. 2. by Fox & Hubberthorn.*

to equal any writings to Scripture is interpretative in interpretation to set them above them; he that loves any thing equal to God, loves it indeed more than God, the setting up of any writings in equipage with Gods, is a debasing of his word,

Again some of them assert that they have as full <sup>b</sup> a measure of the Spirit, as the penners of the Scriptures had <sup>\*</sup> the fulnesse of the Spirit is well known by the emptinesse of their fruits, had they said that they have as full

<sup>a</sup> There are Quakers that have done it as before, and though it be answered, it is a wicked lie, yet see your Book entituled, *Truths defence*, writ by Fox, Hubberthorn, p. 2. l. 13. and divers other Books, wherein they prefer the Scripture to the fire, and their own Books to mens reading, as more useful for these times. R. B.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* b. There fulnesse is of the evil one.

p. 3. Q<sup>10</sup>. at the end of a Gagg.

<sup>\*</sup> *Truths Defence* p. 43.

a mea-



measure of the evil spirit, as *Marcian primogenitus diaboli*, the first born of the Devil, *Polycarpe* calls him, they had come near the Truth.

This corner-stone, being laid by these Master builders of *Sathans Babel*, they go on to dem

### 1. The personal body of Christ.

*George Fox* being asked whether Christ had a body in heaven, and be a particular man or person, incompassed with a body to live for ever, yea, or no, affirms, *That Christ hath but one body, and that is the Church* ] That 1, *Christ mystical body, corpus mysticum, is the Church* and that 2, *This is but one*, is according to truth answerable to that we beleive, *Sanctam Catholicam Ecclesiam, the Holy Catholick Church*, but 3, *That Christ hath but one body*, is contradictory to the whole History of the four Evangelists which so often speakes of that body which he took of the Virgin *Mary* of whom Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* after the flesh came, as *Paul* phrase it, and how he ascended and shall come again

(2)  
Truths  
defence  
p. 78. 79.

\*Oulaw  
показ.

*Luke* acquaints us *Acts* 1. 9, 10, 11. *Shall so come in like manner, as ye have seen him goe into heaven* But this is not the first time that this Heresie hath been broached nor confuted, many a hundred yeers ago. were these things upon the stage of the World, *dic mihi aliquid novi aut tace*, trouble us not with old rotten stinking errors.

Secondly,

Secondly, In their book called, *The persecution of the Quakers*; First, the corporeal Body of Christ: And secondly, his coming in the Clouds to judgment, are denied. 1 pag. 8. Priest Herrick did affirm before the Magistrate and many others, that the body of Christ is not spiritual; and when he was by William Adamson challenged for his blasphemy, he said he would prove it by Scripture, and produced those words Christ said, *I am not a spirit*; and then he was by him charged with a lie, for there was no such words in that Scripture. 2 p. 9. Let their own words try them *who look for a Christ yet to come*; as some of them said, what will yee *Quakers* do, who saith Christ is within you, when Christ comes in the clouds, here now all people do but honestly examine and see whether these spirits confess Christ, who looks for him yet to come, and whether you dare believe the Apostle, *every spirit who doth not confess Christ Jesus come in the flesh, is not of God*, or these deceivers, who look for him yet to come; these things are so palpably gross and weak, yea even irrational, that their needs no words to the misproving of them.

### 2. *The Visible Church.*

Whereas a Book entituled fiery darts, saith, R. 2. 210 p. 26. that since the Apostles dayes there hath been a great Apostacie, and that a true Church of Christ could not be found, are you of the same mind? Answ. yea, Herein agreeing with those

V. Catalogum  
testium  
veritatis.

Παῖδες τοῦ  
καὶ τοῦ  
καὶ τοῦ  
καὶ τοῦ.

Παῖδες τοῦ  
καὶ τοῦ  
καὶ τοῦ  
καὶ τοῦ.

those formerly called *Seekers*. 1. That there was, and is a great Apostacie, as the Scripture foretold, so experience hath evidenced, and the Apostacie in all ages more or less hath been witnessed against; but 2. such an Apostacie as hath wholly destroyed the Church, and laid it so under ground, as that it cannot be found, what is this? &c. what is this? but to make much of Scripture at present of no use, which directs us concerning Church Communion, among other Heb. 13. 17. *obey them that have the rule over you and submit your selves, for they watch for your souls*

2. To invalidate those promises of Christ Matth. 16. 18. *Upon this rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of heaven.* And Matth. 28. 20. *Loe I am with you already, to the end of the World.* 3. To give you this whole World, visibly into the hands of the Prince of the World, as if Christ had not overcome, but being overcome by Sathan.

### 3. Thirdly against the Scriptures.

1. That it is dangerous for the ignorant and unlearned to read the Scriptures. 1. How far is this from the assertion of the Papists? 2. How doth it justify them in their prohibiting of Lay-men to read the word. 3. and makes fair way to usher in *Imagines laicorum libros*, Images as Lay-mens Books. Secondly, If any raises from the Scriptures points, trials, motives, uses, he adds to the Scrip-  
tures

tures, and to him are added the curses and plagues, *In eodem*  
*Rev. 22. 18.* Whether this? but 1. to destroy *loco.*  
 all preaching, 2. to condemn their own selves.  
 3. to discover their ignorance, between the ex-  
 plaining of Truth, and coyning of falsehoods  
 to passe as new truths, their additions are cor-  
 ruptives, the Ministers for illustration, infor-  
 mation, incitation, to edification, 4. to con-  
 demn Christ and his Apostles, which applied,  
 and urged, in many places of the Scriptures,  
 out of the old Testament cited. 3. *That the*  
*Scripture is not the word of God, nor a standing rule.* *Fiery darts*  
*p. 19. 30.*  
 In this way are grossely ignorant, or wilfully  
 malicious, or both, they will acknowledge *Quakers*  
 no word of God but Christ, as if no difference  
 between *verbum internum & externum*, an inward  
 and outward word, *verbum oris & Scriptum*, the  
 word spoken and written, the thoughts of my  
 mind are *soliloquia* a talking with my self, what  
 I speak is the word of my mouth, and what I  
 write is my word under my hand, *Christ is the*  
*eternal, internal word of God*, the Wildome of  
 the father, the Scriptures, much of it was spo-  
 ken by God by the mouth of his holy Prophets, and  
 all written, as holy men of God were inspired by the  
 Holy Ghost: they would seem to exalt Christ,  
 it is to debase the Scriptures, and deifie the light  
 within them, but if they will not hear *Moses*  
 and the Prophets, which testified of Christ, nei-  
 ther would they Christ the word of God. *Heb. 1.*  
*God whg in sundry times, and in diverse man-*  
*spoke in times past unto the Fathers by the Pro-*  
*phets*

*Οὐκ  
 ἀλλήλας  
 ἐν τοῖς  
 προφήταις*



phets ] was not that then the word of God the prophets spake? 2. And why not a *standing rule*? The papists indeed say it is a *nose of wax* a *leaden rule*, that the Pope may stand; and so for the upholding of your unscriptural revelations, the Scripture must not stand, but when we shall all stand before the judgement Seat of Christ, we shall be judged according to this rule, and thereby stand or fall. 4. *That it is not a perfect rule of faith and Conversation to walk by.* ] 1.

2 Tim. 3.  
17. *ἀσθε-  
νέει πᾶν  
ῥῆμα ὡς  
ῥῆμα ἔξ  
ἡμῶν*  
Jam. Nay-  
lor 5. An-  
swer to  
Jews p.  
22.

Though the Scripture say it is able to make the man of God perfect. 2. The papists and they con- cur again, the papists to establish *papa decretalia* the Popes decrees, the Quaker to make way for the reception of the *light within them*, be it the Prince of darknesse, and that his delusive revelations may be swallowed and followed. 5. *That it is the Devil in man that contends for the Scriptures to be the word of God.* Here is Equivocation, Ignorance, Blasphemy, either one or all; for if he takes the word of God for Christ, none ever affirmed it; if for that God spake by the mouth or pen of his Servants, then it is a grosse calumniating of the holy Spirit. 7. *That the light which is in all the Indians, Americans, and other Pagans on earth, is sufficient without Scripture.* ] 1. It is much that Scripture should not, and yet *natural light* is. 2. That the light which is so *weak and dimme*, should be so *strong and cleer*. 3. That what discovers *nothing of Christ*, should *enough to heaven*.

Naylors  
Answer to  
Faxter.  
p. 48.

4. Against Ordinances.

Even all at once strikes *Gotherfon* in his *Alarm*, pag. 2. and elsewhere; "The man Christ  
 " Jesus, the great Prophet, declared in general  
 " terms, what should be in latter times, leaving  
 " it to every Son and Daughter, to declare their  
 " particular experiences, when the Spirit doth  
 " rise up in them, and manifest himself unto  
 " them, for they that believe, saith he, out of their  
 " Bellies shall flow Rivers (or plentiful discoveries)  
 " of the Water of Life, therefore as *Moses*  
 " gave way to Christ, for when Christ appeared  
 " in the flesh, *Moses* administration began  
 " to be silent, and drew back, and set Jesus  
 " Christ in the Chair, to be the great Prophet,  
 " that should be the teacher in Types after him,  
 " and the ministration of those discoveries, were  
 " to reign in the world their appointed times,  
 " even so the Lamb Christ Jesus, or that single  
 " body, gives way to the holy Ghost, or spreading  
 " spirit, *John* 16. 7. 17. 21. *If I go not away*  
*the comforter cannot come.*

Here is much of truth, but mis-timed, and abused, to the destruction of all Christs visible Kingdome: it is true. 1. God sent Christ the great Prophet, that to him, 2. *Moses* gave way, 3. that the present administration will cease, 4. but not till he hath delivered up the Kingdome to his Father, *Ephes*. 4. 13. 5. that the sending of the Comforter, did but further  
 K the

the Apostles, to plant Christs visible Kingdome, and now as a sanctifying and comforting spirit, is conveyed by Ordinances, and makes them profitable.

Quakers

Jolly, p. 57.  
2 Ed.

Truths  
defence,  
p. 98.

James  
Parnel,  
and Nay-  
lors an-  
swer to

Ives, p. 14.  
29.

G. White-  
heads,  
Cains Ge-  
neration,  
p. 11.

Matth. 1.  
28. 19.

Acts 2. 8.  
36. 10. 47.

\* Non di-  
Ainguunt

sed nomen  
contem-  
nant.

Richard  
Hubber-  
thorns

Truths  
defence,

p. 99. 100.

Suitable to this tenet is that Speech of Mr. Fijler, in conference with Mr. Thomas Foxton Ju-  
rate of Sandwich, and Thomas Barber, Cooper of  
Dunkirke, May 12. That he himselfe was above  
Ordinances, and that there is no more use of them  
in this life to many persons, then there is of a Candle  
light when the Sun shines, and he gave instance  
in the uselessness of Baptisme and the Lords  
Supper.

1. Water-Baptisme denyed to be an Ordinance of  
Christ. 1. It is their way to set up appointments  
of their owne, and throw down Christs, they must  
be heard, but Christ not obeyed. 2. When and  
where was Water-baptisme abolished? first the in-  
stitution, and secondly practice is full and cleer: 3.  
But it must be Water-baptisme with them, not to  
shew the Element, but your conceipt of the Ordi-  
nauce, \* and alwaies they that esteem too high of  
their own things, think too low of Christs.

2. Concerning the Lords Supper, Mr. Kellat in  
in Lancashire queries, Whether did not Christ in-  
stitute his last Supper with Bread and Wine? Rich.  
Hubberthorn answers, That Christ spake not of  
Bread and Wine, but the Bread which Christ calleth  
his Body, is to be understood of his Church, but the  
Cup which thou drinkest we deny, for thy Cup is the  
Cup of Devils, and thy Table is the Table of Devils,  
which is an Idol and imitation, and thy Sacrifice is

to Devils, and not to God. And is this from the Spirit of the Lord? Oh! the patience of the Lord, to endure such breath of Blasphemy, this is so contrary to *Faith* and *Charity*, that it shall not need more words, then the Angels disputing with the Devil, *the Lord rebuke thee.*

3. *Preaching the Word, Praying, Singing, are* Ἐπισημα-  
σαι σοι  
*no appointments of Christ, but inventions of Men* ἡμεῖς.  
They do well to strike at all, nothing of God, Hel broke  
loose, pag.  
27.  
that is in the Word of God, are not all these  
things *there* required? who so ignorant as need  
to be instructed where? but it seems they are  
such builders, as would not leave a stone upon a  
stone.

4. *Against Sabbaths. No Sabbath to be kept,*  
and indeed they that deny the ordinances of the  
day, no wonder if the day. And in this their pra-  
ctice is suitable to their doctrine, even in con-  
tempt of Gods day, and Magistrate, daring to o-  
pen Shops, and exposing wares to sale, taking no  
notice of the morality of the *fourth Commande-*  
*ment*, nor the Churches practice in the Apostles  
dayes; it is in vain to note the universal cuttome  
of the Churches of Christ ever since, but they  
think to carry the day the better, if they can  
bear down the day of the Lord: but oh! that  
they would remember his burning wrath break-  
ing out against Sabbath-breakers, in our Land and  
dayes, if they will not let others read *Birds The-*  
*ater, Burtons Tragedy*, and the sad state of the land  
since the *book of Sports.*

Against  
Naylor a-  
gainst Rag-  
ter, p. 25.  
32, 33. a-  
gainst our  
singing  
Davids  
Psalms,  
p. 28.  
Ἀποκρίσις  
ἀνθρ.  
Answ. to  
Edward  
Brocks let-  
ter, p. 9,



Richard  
Farne-  
worths an-  
swer to the  
Westmer-  
land Mini-  
sters Peti-  
tion, p. 5.  
Goliab, p.  
7. Truths  
defence, p.  
96.  
κατά πρ-  
λιν.

5. Against Ordination. *The Ministers of God never were sent forth from God, by a mediate sending, but were immediately sent* The tendency of this is first to destroy the Ministry, since the Apostles, and secondly to make way for the reception of themselves as *Prophets and Apostles*, they exclude us, that they may reign, but what then becomes 1. of *Timothy*, 2. of those *Elders* ordained in every City, 3. of those directions given to *Titus* and *Timothy*: but it seems their design is to down with all, and by bringing in *New-light* to extinguish all, and to leave us in worse then *Egyptian* darkness.

### 5. Against Original Sin.

Proud  
Pharisee  
reproved,  
P. 13.

*That the Doctrine of Original corruption, is a Soul-destroying, God-blaspheming doctrine* Surely those that boast of perfection are perfect no where, neither in their hearts nor words, not so much as *ad integritatem*, to soundness, but wholly corrupt, denying *Original Sin*, the old *Pelagian*, *Arminian*, *Anabaptistical* error, so much against, first cleer Scripture, and secondly sad experience, first the Scripture paints us to the life, what by Nature, and what born; secondly, and we our selves discover our selves, even going astray, as it were visibly from the Mothers womb. Oh! that they which pretend so much to the extraordinary mind of God, should be such strangers to their own hearts.

6. Against

### 6. *Against Justification.*

1. That this is a blinde doctrine which preaches, Hel broke  
that righteousnesse which justifies is not in them. loofe, p.

2. He that hath a covering for his sins, no nearer  
then above the Stars, will one day be found naked. 22. 23. Burroughs  
1691. 1st

3. The Obedience of Christ, and of the Creatures, is Firmin,  
not two Obediences but one. 4. That Christ bought p. 21.

us not with the price of his blood, that was shed upon Naylor at  
the Crosse at Ierusalem onely] These tenets, & how gainst

derogatory are they to Christ? 2. how comfort-  
 lesse to sinners? 3. how crosse to the designe of Truths

God, to exclude boasting? 4. yea how pernicious to Souls? first, intempting them to the re- P. 95.

jecting the righteousness of God, of Faith, of Christ,

and secondly, seeing after a righteousness of  
their own, which they shall never attain unto.

5. How neer of kin to those positions of the Papists *de justificatione*? but either we must stop our

cares to such doctrine, or refuse to open them to plain Scripture.

### 7. *Against religious Education.*

That for Masters and Mistresses to make their Proud  
Servants read Scriptures, and to bring them to the Pharisee

publick Ordinances, argues a persecuting Bonner-like reprov'd spirit, and is a seeking to dethrone Christ, and is trea- P. 37.

son against the King of Saints, and his tender Lambs!

What is this? but first to load with calumny and reproach, that which God highly commends in 19.

*Abraham* : secondly, and to deter men from that which God in the Old and New Testament doth so inforce upon them. Thirdly, but all is of designe, that first, so Children and Servants may be left as a prey to them, secondly, and God altogether forsaken in the next generation, and his name not named among men.

### 8. Of Light within.

To shew they are in Darknesse, and would hold men there, they assert heterodoxes concerning the *Light within*, as

Answ. to  
Westmer-  
land Peti-  
tion, pag.  
14.

Joh. 1. 9.

Φωτὶς

ἡ ἀληθινή

ἡ ἑρχομένη

ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ

καὶ ἡ ἀντι-

παρὸν

μὲν

ἔτι

ἐν τῷ

κόσμῳ

καὶ ἡ ἀντι-

παρὸν

μὲν

ἔτι

ἐν τῷ

κόσμῳ

καὶ ἡ ἀντι-

παρὸν

μὲν

ἔτι

ἐν τῷ

κόσμῳ

1. *That the Light which is in every one that comes into the world, shews a mans sin and evil, and the decrepts of his own heart*] They are strangely confused in holding out their Light, and know not how well to distinguish *inter conscientia naturalem* a natural conscience. & *mentem divinitus illuminatam*, a minde illuminated with Gospel revelations: they finde *Christ* called *the light*, and of him said, *that he lightneth every one that cometh into the world*, and that in men naturally there is a *Conscience* excusing or accusing, and these things they strangely jumble together: that natural light, *lux concreata ut natura insita*, doth and will convince men of *many sins*, is undeniable *teste experientia*, by experience, but that by the light thereof a man may come to the knowledge of all transgression, and be able to see into the bottom of his heart, who but an ignorant one in Gods word will affirm?

2. *That*

2. That it is pure, and whosoever beleeves and fol-  
lowes it, shall not abide in darknesse, but shall have  
eternal life] Then Christ is in vain, if righteouf-  
nesse could have been by the Law. (Christ dyed in vain,  
s but in as much as it was weake, God sent his Son,  
t &c. so if life could have been by natures light,  
what need Chrillt have come to be a light to ligh-  
ten the Gentiles up that were without God, and  
Christ, strangers from the Covenant, aliens from  
God w, through the ignorance that was in their  
minde x.

Naylors  
answer to  
Harris,  
p. 11.  
s Truths  
defence,  
pag. 86.  
Gal. 2. 21.  
s we say  
Rom. 8. 3.  
u Luk. 2.  
32. φως τις  
α' π' ο'νδ-  
αν. 1. 19. 19-  
19.

3. They make it all and every thing, quidlibet  
ex qualibet as appears by those assertions of theirs.  
1. Christ is this light, 2. it is the Light and Spirit of  
Christ, 3. it is the Light, Spirit and power of God  
Salvation; 4. the perfect Law of Liberty; 5. the  
Lord God, and the Lamb is the Light within me:  
6. it is the Light of the Covenant of Grace. 7. It is  
God, and when Paul committed the Saints to God,  
it wa to be light within them; 8. it is the word of  
Faith, 9. Reason and understanding, 10. a perfect  
rule in every mans Conscience; 11. that in a man  
which is just, equal, and righteous, telling him he  
ought not to do wrong; 12. that from which the  
Scriptures were given forth; 13. the same thing  
with the light and life of Adam in Paradise, 14. No  
other thing then the light of the Gospel; 15. the  
same light with the anoynting, both in Beleevers, and  
in Unbeleevers.

w Ephes.  
2. 12.  
x t phes. 4.  
18  
Naylors  
answer to  
Higgenson,  
p. 6. Wick-  
ednesse  
weighed,  
p. 22.  
Farnworth  
against  
Hagger, p.  
57. Naylors  
answer to  
Higgenson,  
p. 5. Farn-  
worth a-  
gainst  
Hagger.  
p. 54.

A pretious thing, if they could tell what, but  
Naylors answe to Harris, p. 15. Farnworth against Hagger, pag. 48.  
Burroughs against Firmin. p. 18. 19. Answer to Bork, p. 6. 7. Hubber-  
thorn against Winterton, p. 8. Burroughs answer to Bunxion, p. 18,



Truths  
defence,

p. 67.

Esay 8. 20.

אין  
לשון

thus they speak, because the Light is not in them, but by this Light a man may see a *designe* of darknesse, there is, as 1. to take men off from the *Scriptures*: 2. To lul asleep their own Consciences, when they alone shall be judge of their own actions. 3. To prepare them to receive any dictates, that an impudent fellow shall dare to impose from *the Light within him*. 4. To give men up into the immediate hands of the Devil, to be absolutely at his command, when he shall strangely suggest any thing to them, taking his impulses of darknesse to proceed from Conscience, Spirit, Christ, God within them, as is plain in *Gilpin*, and *Tolderroy*.

These are grand Errors, *Heresies*, *Blasphemies* of theirs, razing the very foundation, leading men from God, Christ, Scripture, unto the Devil and Destruction; other grosse absurdities there are, for *uno concessio sequuntur millia*, but because we have sufficiently raked already in a filthy Dunghil, we shall but onely name them.

### 1. That of Perfection.

Naylor a-  
gainst  
ives. p. 13.  
Firmness  
against  
Hueger,  
p. 7.

That those that have received Christ and God are come to perfection, that all such as are Christ are without sin | Alas! poor men, their perfection is verbal; their imperfection real, they are perfect Talkers very imperfect Walkers, he that is not blind may see your nakednesse, that they impudently boast of, they are far from, only they glory in their shame, and count their unrighteousness for righteousness; if to be proud, railing, cur-  
sing,

sing, and blaspheming, seducing of Souls be to z Phil. 3.  
be perfect, then are they such, far better men 12. 'Ουχ  
have been far more humble, not that I have alrea- ὅτι ἦν  
dy attained, saith Paul. In many things we offend ἡμᾶς  
all, a and he that saith he hath no sin is a Lyar, and ἡμᾶς  
the truth is not in him. ἡμᾶς

a Jam. 1. 2.  
Πολλὰ  
ἡμᾶς  
ἀπαίσ.

Naylors

## 2. Of Discerning.

That the Saints by the Spirit that is in them, can Answer to  
judge of mens hearts, and that such judging is Christs Pendarres;  
judging of men, and that Christ shall judge no where P. 7.  
else but in the Saints. ] Miserable men! that know b 2 Cor. 5.  
not themselves nor their own hearts, and yet 10. ἵς  
pretend to the knowledge of others, contrary πῶς ἡ-  
to that, who knows the things of a man, but the μᾶς φαν-  
spirit of a man that is in him? And it were a hap- δει ἡμπε-  
pinesse to them, if they should not all b appear δειν τῷ  
before the iugeme nt seat of Christ to render an ac- μαλῶ τῷ  
count of the things they have done in the flesh, for Χειρῶ, ἡ  
God hath appointed a day in which he will judge the κομίσαν-  
world, by the man Jesus, of which he hath ἔκαστῳ τῷ  
given witness in raising him from the dead, as δια τῶ  
P eter hath it. ματῶ  
πρὸς α  
ἐπράξαν.

Other strange Doctrines have been broached Hel broke  
by some of them. Nicholas Kate of Harmel in loose. p. 37  
Berks, 1. That Marriage was made by man. 2. e In doct-  
That Christians were worse then Beasts. 3. That any rine false,  
woman was as free to him as his wife. 4. That his in pract-  
wife was no wife of his. she was a Limbe of the Diuel. bly true.  
5. That he was holy, and all things that he touched f Holy St.  
were holy. 6. That when the fulnesse of time was Nicholas.  
come he could work miracles. g In good  
One time.

h 1 Cor  
15.

Act. 1. 11.

i They  
have need  
of a cove-  
ring, his to  
short.

This is  
but one  
part of his  
perfection  
b but none  
beside  
himself  
confident.

One of Bristol being at Marleborough in the County of Wilts affirmed, 1. He knew no such thing as the Resurrection of the body. h 2. That the body of Christ was not in heaven, neither should he come thence with a body. 3. He defended those that went naked. 4. That he went to bed with a woman not his wife without sin. k 5. That he was confident of his perfect holynesse. ] One would wonder that a very natural conscience, and those things should stand together, but being delivered up to strong delusions, they beleive a lie, and by a new light from Hell, even extinguish the very light of nature, till God in Hell shall raise it up again: that a conceit of perfect holynesse, could be embraced with confidence by such an unclean person!

If the Reader will trouble himself with more, he may read these following,

Tolderryes  
foot out of  
the snare.

m est mo-  
dus in rebus

Act. 4. 13.  
ἐν ὅσῳ  
ἕτερον.

1. That Edens garden is the World, the trees all living beings, that Paradise is in man, that men fell by harkening to the wicked, which was the fleshly mind, and that not the woman properly, but the silliest and weakest part was the woman that tempted him, that Adam was the earthly nature in man. ] and indeed there are extremes to which they are delivered up, viz. To take some Scriptures in the stricthesse of the Letter against all sense, reason and other Texts; 2. To Allegorize and make a mystical meaning, the main and only sense of words that are hystorical and literal, m

2. That the Redeemer of man, is not that person the Son of God, that dyed at Hierusalem but the light which is in every particular man, by which he is gi-

ven

vent to see sin, and enabled by it, if obedient to be redeemed from sin.] What is this? 1. to vacuate the whole myſtery of redemption. 2. ſetting up a righteouſneſſe of works. 3. yea making corrupt conſcience in fallen man a Saviour. 4. and fallen man ſufficient to ſave himſelf.

3. That ſearching the Scriptures is not the way to find out the Knowledge of Chriſt, but the turning the mind within.] Contrary to that of Chriſt, ſearch the Scriptures, for they teſtifie of mee. p

Kate could not or would not when he went to another woman's bed. o Pelagianisme, P. pery worſe then both. p Jo. 5. 39. Q. Fol. 2. v. in fine.

Questions propoſed to, and answered

By Joſeph Frice. Quaker.

Queſt. Whether the Scriptures be the rule of trying and judging all matters of Faith and obedience to God?

Anſw. I prove not Joh. 5. 22. The father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgement to the Son.

Queſt. Whether the light within be ſufficient to guide to Salvation, if you never had heard of the Bible?

Anſw. If I had never ſeen nor heard of the Bible, yet beleiving the witneſſe which God hath given, which is Chriſt, the light, hope, and glory in us, I ſhould have attained to the Knowledge of God.

Queſt. Whether the teachings or writings of any of your may be infallible or of equal authority with the Scriptures?

Anſw.



*Ans.* I say, we do not erre in speaking or writing the Truth, and that of God in all consciences, shall one day witnesse this to be true and infallible, and the Scriptures, and our writings, hath and will most certainly come to passe.

*Quest.* *Whether the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, be three distinct persons in the self same God-head?*

*Ans.* Three distinct persons I deny, it is like the Bishops in Rome, may own thee in them, for that is some of their unfruitful works of darknesse.

*Quest.* *Whether Christ hath a divine and humane nature in one person?*

*Ans.* Thy words *Humane nature*, I return them with those words *three persons*, into the pit of confusion from whence they came.

*Quest.* *Whether Christ remains for ever a distinct person from all the Saints.*

*Ans.* but as for being a distinct person from all the Saints he is not.

*Quest.* *Whether the true Church hath failed upon earth, since the death of the Apostles, until now? If not, in what age or ages, or among what people hath it continued?*

*Ans.* He can send all, both great and small, rich and poor, bond and free, to receive a mark in their foreheads, or in their right hand. *Rev. 13.* & thus the true Church ceased, since the death of the Apostles, until the raising up of Gods own seed out of the earth, to stand a witnesse against wicked

wicked murderers and persecuters of the Saints and true Church of Christ.

Quest. *Whether the first day of the Week be more holy then any other of the Week?*

Ans<sup>r</sup>. All the dayes of the Week, as the Lord created them, are holy unto the Saints, who are redeemed from observing dayes and months, and times and yeers.

*These things are expressly asserted and subscribed.*

Joseph Frice.

Now what shall we say to these things? 1. Is it possible that ever such things could be entertained as truth, were not that executed the Apostle speaks of, being given up to strong delusions to believe a Lie? 2. Shall they be hearkned to by them that have received the gospel. Is it not another Gospel that they bring. 3. Can we look upon these dark and ungodly Tenents, as light leading to more godliness & greater perfection is the broad way to Hell, the narrow way to Heaven? 4. How can these men be received and bid God speed? but we must be partakers of their evil deeds: were they *minutiora* small differences, the strength of Charity might bear them, but surely these horrid tenents, that overthrow foundations, and practise of them, wast the conscience, and destroy godlineffe, are intollerable, and the last Love and Zeal to God and Christ, and Souls of men can never beare them.

Chap.

h 1 Cor  
15.

Act. 1. 11.  
i They  
have need  
of a cove-  
ring, his to  
short.

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o Pelagia-  
nisme, Pe-  
pery worse  
then both.  
p Jo. 5. 39.  
Q. Fol. 2.  
v. in fine.

*Questions proposed to, and answered*

*By Joseph Frice. Quaker.*

Quest. **W**Hether the Scriptures be the rule of try-  
ing and judging all matters of Faith and  
obedience to God ?

Ans. I prove not Joh. 5. 22. The father jud-  
geth no man, but hath committed all judgement to the  
Son. 2

Quest. *Whether the light within be sufficient to*  
*guide to Salvation, if you never had heard of the*  
*Bible ?*

Ans. If I had never seen nor heard of the  
Bible, yet beleiving the witnesse which God  
hath given, which is Christ, the light, hope,  
and glory in us, I should have attained to the  
Knowledge of God. 6

Quest. *Whether the teachings or writings of any*  
*of your way be infallible or of equal authority with*  
*the Scriptures ?*

Ans.

a A worthy  
proof if a  
man could  
see where  
the  
strength  
lay.

b Obscure



*Ans.* I say, we do not erre in speaking or writing the Truth, and that of God in all consciences, shall one day witness this to be true and infallible, and the Scriptures, and our writings, hath and will most certainly come to passe.

*Quest.* Whether the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, be three distinct persons in the self same God-head?

*Ans.* Three distinct persons I deny, it is like the Bishops in Rome, may own thee in them, for that is some of their unfruitful works of darknesse.

*Quest.* Whether Christ hath a divine and humane nature in one person?

*Ans.* Thy words *Humane nature*, I return them with those words *three persons*, into the pit of confusion from whence they came.

*Quest.* Whether Christ remains for ever a distinct person from all the Saints.

*Ans.* but as for being a distinct person from all the Saints he is not.

*Quest.* Whether the true Church hath failed upon earth, since the death of the Apostles, until now? If not, in what age or ages, or among what people hath it continued?

*Ans.* He can send all, both great and small, rich and poor, bond and free, to receive a mark in their foreheads, or in their right hand. *Rev. 13.* & thus the true Church ceased, since the death of the Apostles, until the raising up of Gods own seed out of the earth, to stand a witness against wicked

wicked murderers and persecuters of the Saints and true Church of Christ.

Quest. *Whether the first day of the Week be more holy then any other of the Week?*

Ans. All the dayes of the Week, as the Lord created them, are holy unto the Saints, who are redeemed from observing dayes and months, and times and years.

*These things are expressly asserted and subscribed.*

Joseph Frice.

Now what shall we say to these things? 1. Is it possible that ever such things could be entertained as truth, were not that executed the Apostle speaks of, *being given up to strong delusions to beleive a Lie*? 2. Shall they be hearkned to by them that have received the gospel. Is it not another Gospel that they bring. 3. Can we look upon these dark and ungodly Tenents, as light leading to more godliness & greater perfection is the broad way to Hell, the narrow way to Heaven? 4. How can these men be received and bid God speed? but we must be partakers of their evil deeds: were they *minutiora* small differences, the strength of Charity might bear them, but surely these horrid tenents, that overthrow foundations, and practise of them, wast the conscience, and destroy godlinesse, are intollerable, and the last Love and Zeal to God and Christ, and Souls of men can never beare them.

Chap.



## CHAP. 7.

### *Of Sundry Blasphemies against God, and Railings against his Ministers.*

**F**or their tongues are set on fire of Hell, as James phrases it, and they have not withheld setting their Tongues against heaven, and to bring railing accusations against the Messengers of the most high, a little of this is too much, the Christian Reader will be quickly weary of it, and therefore we shall not be long.

#### *I. Of their Blasphemies.*

Perfe &  
Pharisee

p. 3.

Affirmed

by George

Fox and

J. Naylor

before

witnesses

who attest

r.

Sauls er-

rand. p. 58

Lancaster

Petition.

I. That they are equal with God, as holy, just, and good as God himself. ] Pardon me, if here my pen fail me, who can tell what to say to such blasphemous sayings? Humility is a sign of grace, such pride of the fulnesse of iniquity, the Angels in heaven veil their faces, but these impudent Creatures, Devils incarnate, dare outface heaven, and vie with God, there is but one step higher to affirm, that they are above God, but certainly if God give not repentance to such wicked

Cap. 6. of Sundry Blasphemies and Railings. 141

wicked wretches, they will be below the worst of Heathen, for they may not be called Christians. 2. That the being of God is not distinct from them that are begotten by him. } ignorant creatures Fowl Ans. that scarce know any thing that is, thus to prate to Speed. concerning the being of God, of which the Atkinsons sword of wisest and holiest men know rather, *Quid non sit*, the Lord. *quam quid sit*, what it is not, then what it is. 3. Household that the nature and glory of the elect, differ not from and Bur- the nature and glory of the creator, for the elect are rougs Ans. one with the creator in his nature enjoying his glory. to Reeve. Neither knowing God nor themselves, the finiteness of the creature, nor the infiniteness of the Creator: because God speaks much of the oneness and greatness of their glory, therefore pag. 6. can there be none but identity of nature, and at the equal participation of glory *quoad omnia* in every thing: they may as well confound all, and end of the say the creature is the creator, that the cause is gag. p. 14. the effect, and effect the cause, that a thing is railing a- from another, and that thing is it self, they have ther, Son, not only lost their Religion, but reason, pride & ig- and Holy norance, hath made these men more equal to Ghost, to say [ these the Devil then God, and indeed they almost say 3. shall be as much in *totidem verbis*, in so many words. 4. damned, That God is not distinct from living creatures. 5. That shut up in the Soul is a part of the Divine essence. 6. That there is perpetual darkness no distinction of persons in the Deitie. \*Notwithstanding for the the expresse naming of them in Scripture. lake and 2. And their peculiar properties. 3. As likewise the pit ] attributing to every one of them, those things as you say which are only effected by a God. 7. That Jesus in your Ishmael p. Christ 10. 1. last.



144 *Of Sundry Blasphemies and Railings. Lib. 2.*

Christ is God and man in one person is a lie.] where-  
 by they run themselves upon extreams, either  
 with old Hereticks, as *Paulus Samosatenus Arim,*  
 &c. or making him instead of one Lord Jesus  
 Christ two with *Nestorius*, or confounding the  
 divine and humane nature, making a mixture  
 with *Eutychus* and *Dioscorus*, &c. 8. That Christ  
 was a man, had his failings, for he distrusted God on  
 the Crosse.] *quam bene conveniunt?* How well these  
 things hang together. 1. They must be equal to God,  
 Christ but a man. 2. They perfect, but he a sinner:  
 Which besides that it makes. 1. him incapable  
 to save, is 2. diametrically contrary to the word,  
 he was made like to us in all things, sin only excepted.  
 9. That whosoever expects to be saved by him that di-  
 ed at Jerusalem shall be deceived.] when Christ, un-  
 lesse you beleive that I am he, you shall aye in your  
 sins, w and Peter, neither is there under heaven gi-  
 ven any other name, whereby we may be saved. x 10,  
 That singing Davids Psalms in English Meeter, is  
 to sing the Ballads of Hopkins and Sternehold  
 King James his Fiddlers, and to sing them, is to turn  
 them into Lies and Blasphemies.] They would dis-  
 annul the duty of singing, they accustoming  
 themselves to howling and roaring, contrary to  
 that of James, is any merry let him sing Psalms. y  
 2. Neither can they sing David Psalms in Davids  
 Language, 3. Neither are they able to judge how  
 well, or how ill they are translated, but are  
 ready to speak ill of what they know not. 11.  
 that that word 1. John 1. 8. If we say we have no  
 sin, we deceive our selves, was spoken by the carnal  
 man.]

denying  
the Deity.

Gilpin. p. 2.

r Heb. 4.  
15. X<sup>us</sup>  
apostasias.

Perfect  
Pharisee,  
p. 8.

\* Act. 4. 12  
Fowl and  
Ford a-  
gainst  
Speed.

H. Clarke  
in his De-  
scription  
of the pro-  
phets. p. 9.

Fr. Gar-  
ter, See  
Antichrist  
in mah. by  
Mr. Miller.  
p. 7.

man.] It stares them so in the face, they would fain out-face it, and so overturns their Doctrine of being without sin, that they would willingly overturn it, and will venture upon calling the *Apostle a Carnal man*, rather then themselves should not be thought perfectly spiritual. 12. For our giving forth *Papers or printed Books*, it is from the immediate, eternal Spirit of God, and for the simple ones sakes, as we are moved by the immediate spirit of Christ to write to teach, to exhort, or to put in Print: *Truths Defence*, p. 104.] How then comes it that *Gotherdon Ep. 4. 5.* is fain to write against others of his own, and call to them to recall their Tenets and repent. 13. All their Railings, Curlings and Blasphemies, they Father on the Holy Ghost, and make them to proceed immediately from the eternall spirit of God in them: as may appear. 7

2. Of their railings at Ministers, and slandering of them. 7

Only whatever they say is little in respect of what before, and there can be no wondring at their Blasphemies against Men, when they have thus opened their mouths against Heaven, and if they have done these things to God himselfe, no wonder if such to his Servants, but to speak their language, with which they often salute the Ministers.

That they are of the Synagogue of Satan, and know nothing of God, but are enemies of God, being guided

Hel broke loose, p. 35.

a Their  
 hearts  
 they  
 know.  
 b And they  
 Q or  
 real flesh.  
 c That  
 right  
 d they  
 have little  
 from you.  
 e V What  
 all scan-  
 dalum ac-  
 ceptum.  
 Be sure to  
 say e-  
 nough.  
 M: as  
 they use.  
 f The best  
 that ever  
 he had. I  
 hope.  
 b They Q  
 not guilty.  
 s V Vorse  
 then  
 them-  
 selves.

ded by the spirit of error without amongst dogs, whose  
 humility is fained<sup>a</sup>, that their Sermons are fleshy  
 fancies<sup>b</sup>, and conjurations, dirty miry doctrine a  
 stinking puddle that their hearts are filthy deceitful<sup>c</sup>,  
 seeking praise from men<sup>d</sup>, that they are scanda-  
 lous<sup>e</sup>, following the wayes of Balaam, and Cain,  
 worse then Simon Magus, knowing nothing of the  
 life of the Gospel that they are Heathens, wallowing in  
 the mire and filth of the flesh, on whom all the plagues  
 of God are to be poured; blind guides, proud Baals  
 Priest, f. Lyars. Blasphemers<sup>h</sup> enemies to Christ  
 Jesus Murderers. Sorcerers, whore-mongers chil-  
 dren of disobedience, greedy dumb Doggs Witches,  
 Anti brists, Antichrists Marchants, Robbers De-  
 ceivers, Ministers of the World i Conjurers, Devils  
 of a Serpentine Nature, a brazen faced Bast. Cove-  
 nous Idolatrous, Priests, Thieves. Diabolish Priests,  
 Priests of th<sup>e</sup> world Foxes, Ministers of Anti-  
 christ, proud Pharisees, envious, malicious Priests,  
 Egyptians, Sodomites, Gog and Magog, a seed of  
 ievlders, children of the Devil blind Watchmen,  
 Backbiters, Railers, Seducers, Tas' masters of E-  
 gypt, devouring Lyons, Firebrands of Hell Sons of  
 Belial. I shall but adde here one passage for. 11.  
 Naylor against Baxter, p. 30. "Thou askelt if  
 "it will be for the peoples profit to despise their  
 "Teachers, and Guides? I say you who have  
 "despised Christs commands, to set up your  
 "own Lusts and Pride, Coverousness: and false-  
 "Worship must be despised and when such  
 "Guides are discovered, then shall the people  
 "profit, when they come to be guided by that  
 "Spirit

" Spirit God hath given to every man to profit  
 " withall, which you will keep them from as  
 " long as you can, that you may fill up your mea-  
 " sure, and wrath come upon you to the utter-  
 " most, being captivated by the Devil. Soul and  
 " Body; the God of this world having blinded  
 " your eyes, so that the Gospel is hid from you,  
 " and you lost, setting up the Letter instead of  
 " it, having denyed the light, and erred from  
 " it, are got up into hardnesse of heart, impri-  
 " soning, beating, making havock like rude  
 " Beasts, what ever the Devil did where he  
 " reigned so do you; being the head of the Ser-  
 " pent, which Christ is come to bruise, as he  
 " did in his own person, so *he* is the same brood,  
 " *who now are found in the same bloody plots a-* So Printed;  
 " *gainst the seed of God, worse then ever any,* ed.  
 " seeking the lives of others for practising that  
 " in life which your selves will preach in words  
 " for Money, *such a generation of raging Beasts*  
 " *was never yet in the world, who seek to devour*  
 " *on every side you, and who departs from sin*  
 " *is your prey, the greatest deceivers that ever yet*  
 " *come, now when you come to be revealed,*  
 " *who would have believed that you who have*  
 " *had so many millions of pounds, for teaching*  
 " *people to forsake sin? and now if any declare*  
 " *that he hath forsaken it, and is set free, you*  
 " *preach it down as the most dangerous error*  
 " *that ever was.*

Full of Slander, empty of Charity, and who  
 can ascribe this but themselves to the good Spirit  
 of God,



Enough, *ne quid nimis*, surely they are angry, and I am apt to think the Ministers have hit the *Devil in them* a sound rap of the nose, that makes him to roar so loud. But yet they are not altogether foolish, there is some wit in their anger, though it be but *Serpentine*.

The end  
of their  
railing  
without  
end.

1. Hereby would they alienate the Peoples affections from them, present them to ill; that the people might get no good by them.

2. To get esteem, and gain by what others lose, they would by this be thought exceeding zealous, none like them, for God, Christ, and Souls; truly had they kept in their poyson when they vented all this, they might have been better thought on, but to be so evill themselves, while they are making others so, is not politick.

3. To prepare the Ministers for more, to exercise them with their *tongues*, that they may better rye their *hands*, this is but a paper of Devils set on your heads, before your bodies be brought to the stake; but might I advise, men should first stop their Eares, secondly, bridle their Tongues, thirdly, shun their company, and fourthly, let them be branded for *hideous Blasphemers, notorious Railers*.

CHAP.



## CHAP. 8.

*A short account of a dispute at Cambridge, Aug. 1659. between three eminent Quakers, and one Scholar.*

**A**UG. 25. T. S. of Chr. Col. returning home The Qua-  
 from Saint Johns Library, saw George ker do  
 Whitehead preaching in the Quakers common ained,  
 meeting House, when Whitehead had done, he Pict.  
 continued his Doctrine, but considering how apt  
 silly women were to be misled, he sent the follow- b Over  
 ing to the Mayor, hoping to reclaime in the end against  
 his Wife, who it seems was then a Quaker. Sidney  
 Col.

Whereas George Whitehead delivered, first. c The Ma-  
 that they are not Hereticks, second, teach no other jors.  
 but what Abraham and Christ, and thirdly said,  
 that the Scriptures are not the Word of God. I am  
 ready at any hour or place: 1. to prove these  
 false: 2. to make good my Arguments last used  
 against him. 3. That it is a sin for him to preach  
 or any (such) or for any to hear him.

*Chr. Colh. T. S.*

The Major sent for *Whitehead*, who before his wrote,

1. *That we do not open a door to Heresies.*
2. *That we are not Hereticks, because*
3. *We do not teach any Heresie d.*
4. *We walk not in the steps of Hereticks.*
5. *That the Bible is not the Word.*

d So it is  
a signe.

e *Quan-*  
*tum potuit.*

f His  
strength  
was great,  
or wit  
small.

g But the  
Saints on  
Earth will  
say so.

b Some of  
them ac-  
cording  
to this re-  
lation too,  
willing  
their com-  
mon  
meeting  
should be  
in the  
own.

And this he would maintain e against T. S. at what time and place the Major should appoint. Then *George Whitehead* caused the positions to be writ, saying he would defend them also.

6 *The Scriptures doth not say, if any man say he hath no sin, he deceives himselfe.*

7. *I deny that this is a truth [if any man say] he hath no sin, he deceives himselfe as concerning his sin.*

8. *It is not a sin for me, or any such man to preach or any to hear us.*

Aug. 27. T. S. not hearing of the time and place of meeting went to the Major to know what was resolved he answered, the *Aldermen* were not willing it should be in the *Town Hall*, so that if there were any dispute, it must be in the *Quakers common Meeting-house*. but several *Aldermen* were not willing there should be any, and that he would not advise T. S. to dispute, whereupon T. S. resolved, not

to dispute against the minde of the Corporation.

† Modest  
and sober.

his Aug. 29. came this from W. to T. S.

Friend, T. S. this is to certifie thee, that according to our agreement, when I was with thee, I am willing to give thee a meeting, and seeing no other place is appointed, I intend to be at our Meeting place this day about one or two, where I may expect thy appearance, according to thy promise to me, first to produce thy arguments, &c. subscribed, G. W. *Whitehead*.

Immediately he received another, from Mr. *James Alders*. Sir, I was called this morning to Mr. *Majors*, and there I was told, that it is the desire of the Quakers to meet you at their house of meeting, they begin to think you are afraid to meet them, &c. †

† Crow  
before victory.

Notwithstanding T. S. continued in his Chamber, till one came from Mr. *Alders* to tell him, the Quakers were met, and reported that T. S. did not dare to come, thereupon he went.

When met, G. W. told the people, the Questions to be disputed were; 1. *Whether it were a damnable sin for him to preach, and secondly a damnable sin for any to hear him.* But T. S. began as the propositions lay in his paper, and so went to prove; *tha. Quakers do open a door to damnable Heresie.* Quaker unarmed dispute.

T. S. he that writ *Ismael* and his Mother cast out, opens a door to damnable Heresies, but you

write



It was all  
but scri-  
ble.

*m Multis  
manibus  
et a re-  
vatur o-  
nus.*

writ that Book, therefore. Whithead answered he did not write it all for there is somewhat scrib-  
led in it. T. S. asked if he were the Author of  
all printed in it, he answered about three years  
ago, I and four more writ it between us, *m* and  
said that he would own it.

T. S. further urged, *All Papists open a door  
to damnable Heresies, you who writ this Book are a  
Papist therefore.*

W. I am no Papist.

T. S. *He who refuses to take the Oath of abjuration  
is a Papist, he who writ this refuses to take the Oath  
of abjuration, therefore a Papist.*

*n a notori-  
ous Qua-  
ker as be-  
fore.  
o To put  
off the o-  
dium of  
refusing  
the Oath  
of Abju-  
ration,  
it is no du-  
ty to curse,  
rail, and  
blaspheme  
p V What is  
that to  
them, but  
a blind.*

Here George Fox *n* made a long Discourse to  
prove that it was not lawful for a Christian to  
swear, *o* and would have had T. S. proved it was  
lawful to swear, who answered it was beside the  
Question. Here the *Majors Wife* entreated T.  
S. to lay aside *Whiteheads Book*, and dispute  
from Scripture.

So T. S. did from. 2. Cor. 5. 20. *He who pre-  
tends to be an Ambassador of Christ, and hath no  
commission to shew, but what all the damnable He-  
reticks in the World do or may shew, that man opens  
a door to damnable doctrines: But you pretend to be an  
Embossador of Christ, and have no commission to  
shew but what all the damnable Hereticks in the  
World do or may shew therefore.*

W. I have my Commission from Christ, and  
did ever any Heretick pretend a Commission  
from Christ.

T. S. Yes, David George, Socinus, Arius,  
and

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and all the Hereticks I ever read of.

*W.* They could not prove it by the effects as I, *i.e.* shew the people converted by them.

*T. S.* They could; *Arians* converted a nation of Infidels to Christianity, and his opinions in a short time spread so far, that all the World seemed *Arian*.<sup>q</sup>

*W.* But did the Hereticks live good lives? *q Totus mundus est Arianus.*

*T. S.* It is confessed that *Arius* and his did, that *Pelagius* did, and I remember that no *Sect-master* that did not.

Here *Whitehead* would prove himself no Heretick, from 2. *Pet.* 2. 1, 2. *Hereticks are those that deny the Lord that bought them. I do not deny the Lord that bought me, therefore--*

*T. S.* I deny the Major, all Hereticks do not deny the Lord that bought them, the Apostle instances but in one sort, even the worst, who would even deny the Lord; it followes not hence, none are false Teachers, or false Prophets, or Hereticks, but such as deny the Lord that bought them.<sup>r</sup>

*W.* I have Christ within me, therefore I do not deny the Lord that bought me.

*T. S.* You do not prove your Major.

Here being silent. *T. S.* Out of this place urged against him, *He that writ Ishmael and his Mother cast out, even denies the Lord that bought him, but you writ that Book.* There the Major he further proved, *He that denies Persons in the Trinity, and calls him Dreamer and Conjuror who asserts them, saying that a man who saith there*

154. *A dispute between 3 Quakers and one Scholar.*

be 3 persons in the Trinity, shall be shut up with them in perpetual darknesse for the Lake and the pit, that man is an Heretick, even denying the Lord that bought him, but you George Whitehead deny the 3. persons in the Trinity, &c. This Minor was proved out of the Book it self, p. 10. the 3. persons thou dreamest of, which thou wouldest divide out of one like a Conjuror, all are denied, and thou shut up with them in perpetual darknesse for the Lake and the Pit.

Here Fox made a long Discourse against the Trinity.

T. S. I came not to hear you repeat a deal out of Paul Beasts, I came to dispute.

Fox. Prove there be 3 persons.

T. S. 1. Job. 5. 7. There be 3 that bear Record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these 3 are one.

Thus, If the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be 3 He's, then 3 persons, but they are 3 He's therefore--

While H. D. gibes at 3 He's, and the argument for three persons taken from the places, he considers not that T. S. was necessitated to condescend to vulgar capacities, who cried out they would hear no Philosophy or School-acras

Fox. What mean you by 3. He's.

T. S. Three that may as it were be pointed at he, he, he.

Fox. I do not like that argument.

T. S. Therefore further, are you three Persons that dispute against me?

Fox. Yea.

T. S. Prove it.

Fox. We are in 3 places, and therefore 3 persons.

T. S.

*A dispute between 3 Quakers and one Scholar. 155*

T. S. Therefore replied, *tho Father, Son, and Holy Ghost have been in three places, and therefore 3. persons; at the Baptism of Christ, while Je-<sup>s</sup> Argu-  
sus came up, the Holy-Ghost down, and the<sup>mentum ad</sup>  
Father in heaven.* *hominem.*

*Fox.* Persons have flesh and blood. *t* *Learned-*

T. S. Angels are persons and have not, one *ly.*  
of them said, Angels are not persons. *u*

*Fox.* A person is a subsistence.

*Well  
versed in  
Metaphy-  
sicks*

T. S. So are Father, Son, and holy Ghost.

T. S. Further argued: *He who denies the Bi-  
ble to be the word of God, saying that to assert  
Scripture to be the word of God, is one of the de-  
ceitful imaginations which the Priests of this ge-  
neration have deceived the people with, that man is  
an Heretick: But you deny the Bible to be the word,  
and tell Mr. Townsend, that to assert it, is one of  
the deceitful imaginations which the Priests of this  
generation have deceived the people with: See Ish-  
mael and his mother cast out. p. 1. lin. 1. therefore--*  
This was not answered, but Fox said, they cannot  
be three persons, because they were not visible  
in several places.

T. S. If Christ was man, and the holy Ghost  
was in the form of a Dove, then they were both  
seen.

*Fox.* Prove that they were seen in several  
places.

T. S. One was seen in the water, the other *u Fox  
could not  
or would  
not see.*  
out.

*Fox.* Prove they were seen. *u*



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T.S. Many beheld them both.

Fox. The Holy Ghost could not be seen.

T. S. He was in the form of a Dove, therefore could be seen.

Fox. Not in the form of a Dove, but in the likeness *x*, hereat some laughing, he answered that he was seen, but not visible. *y*

*x* Rare.  
*y* Surely  
his religi-  
on, reason,  
and wits  
were lost.

By this relation it is visible to be seen,

1. Their boldness.
2. Their crowing without cause.
3. Their inability to argue.
4. Their little or no learning. *x*
5. Their strange opinions about the Trinity

*x* At least  
that any  
of them  
will be  
known of.

and Scripture.

6. How they run beyond all reason and sense to defend their tenets.

Lastly, Their obstinacy, when neither Scripture, reason, nor sense can convince them, their damnable errors and stupid obstinacy will surely conclude such men Hereticks.

CHAP,

## CHAP. IX.

*A brief relation of three Disputations at Sandwich April 1659. between Fisher, Whitehead, and Hubberthorn Quakers, and Mr. Danson Minister there.*

## 1. Disputation, April 12.

Quest. **W**Hether every man that cometh in to the world be enlightened by Christ?

Danson. We grant every man hath some light by which he discerns, though dimly, many, 1. Sins. 2. Duties. 3. Divine Attributes; but the mysterie of godlinesse, 1 Tim. 3. ult. God manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, &c. we deny that all men have the knowledge of.

Hubberthorn. The light is but one.

Danson. The lights mentioned, 1. Naturall, and 2. Supernaturall are two, though all have the one, yet few the other: If your meaning be that the knowledge of the Gospel is vouchsafed by Christ to every man, I prove the contrary

1. Psal. 147. 19, 20. He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and judgements unto Israel, he hath not dealt so with any nation, and as for his judgements they have not known them. ] By the Word, Statutes, and Judgements are meant the knowledge of the Gospel; and the Psalmist as-

6. 1.  
Quakers  
folly, p. 1.  
Edit. 2.

Page 2.

serts no nation beside the *Jewes* had this knowledge at this time.

2. *Ephes. 2. 12.* Speaking of the Gentiles before Christ, the Apostle sayes, they were *without Christ, strangers from the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world.* They who had no hope, that is, no ground of hope of salvation, were ignorant of the promises, the ground of hope, and so of God in Christ the object of hope, and so of the summe of the Gospel.

Page 3.

*Geo. Whitehead. Rom. 2. 15.* sayes, *The Gentiles have the Law in their hearts.*

*Danſon.* It is spoken of the natural light, for its opposed to the knowledge of the *Jewes*.

*Whitehead.* It is said to be the knowledge of whatsoever might be known of God, *Rom. 1. 19.*

*Danſon.* The Apostle intends, that what might be known of God, without the preaching of the Gospel, was known to the Gentiles, *vers. 16, 17.* It is by the Gospel the righteousness of God is revealed. *John 4. 22.* Christ tells the Samaritans, the *Jewes* (exclusively) knew what they worshipped, and that salvation was of the *Jewes*, and in respect of this Gospel-knowledge, the *Gentiles* are said to have their understandings darkened, *Ephes. 9. 18.*

*Whitehead.* That place sayes, that the *Gentiles* were not so enlightned as afterward; for 'tis said that Christ was given for a light to lighten the *Gentiles*?

*Danſon.* It proves not that Christ was a light to

to the *Gentiles* in every age and generation, but after his coming in the flesh. *Acts* 13. 46, 47. Loe we turn to the *Gentiles* for so hath the Lord commanded us, saying, I have set thee to be a light of the *Gentiles*. That of the *Ephesians* denies the *Gentiles* at all to have been enlightned by Christ, (unlesse as God) before Christ, they were afar off from God and Christ, and the knowledge of them. *Ephes.* 4. 18. Alienated from the life of God; which imports their understandings no more capable of the knowledge of God, then creatures of one kind of life to converse with another: So that the *Gentiles* wanted the light of the Gospel, and light in their understandings, as the light of the Sun is requisite externally, and the light in the eye, so the Gospel, and an enlightned understanding.

*Geo. Whitehead.* Thon makest the Gospel an outward light: But *2 Cor.* 4. 6. the Apostle says, it shines out of darkness in their hearts?

*Danson.* The Apostle speaks of material light, and argues from the effect of one creating word to another, that by the like word of command he had the light or knowledge of Christ in his understanding: As for, in their hearts, it is the same with *Ephes.* 1. 18. The eyes of your understanding being enlightned, the light by which the Gospel is discerned is inward, but the Gospel it self, outward.

*Whitehead.* *2 Cor.* 4. 6. The Apostle says, Page 5. The light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ shined in their hearts.



*Danson.* In whose? Not of all mankind, but of the Apostles and some others, a small number in comparison; and therefore *vers.* 3. the Apostle sayes, *The Gospel was hid to them that were lost.* And *vers.* 4. There are some to whom the light of the Gospel doth not shine. And *Mat.* 13. 11. it was given to the Disciples, not to others to know the mysteries of the Kingdom. And *Luke* 20. 21. Christ thanks his Father, that whilst he hid the secrets of the Gospel from the Scribes and Pharisees, he revealed them to others.

*Whitehead.* *Luke* 17. 21. The Scriptures say, the kingdom of God was in them.

*Danson.* ἐν ὑμῖν among you, i. e. the preaching of the Gospel.

Page 6.

*Hubberth.* *John* 1. 9. Christ enlightneth every man.

*Danson.* Every man that is enlightned, or some of every nation, kindred, tongue and people.

*Hubberth.* The Scripture saith, every man.

*Danson.* The phrase hath a restrained sense, *Heb.* 2. 9. Christ tasted death for every man, when he died but for a certain number. *Vers.* 10. In bringing many sons to glory.

*Hubberth.* Then thou denyest that Christ died for all?

*Danson.* Yes.

*Whitehead.* *2 Cor.* 5. 14. If one died for all.

*Danson.* It is spoken of Converts whose sanctification was the end of Christs death, and for whom Christ rose, and who therefore did rise with him?

Qu. 2.

Q. 1. 2. *Whether in this life the Saints attain to a state of perfection and freedom from sin.* §. 2.

**H**ubberth. 1 John 3. 9. *Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin?* Page 8.

*Danson.* It cannot be meant of freedom from sin, but either, 1. There is an Emphasis in *sinne*, meaning some sort of sin, 1 John 5. 16. *There is a sin unto death*; or 2. an *ποιῆι*, which notes to make a trade of sin, thus the Saints sin not. Again, it must be meant of all Saints born again, and then none such sin, contrary to 1 John 1. 8. *If we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves*; and this is spoken of such as *vers. 3.* are said to have fellowship with the father and his son.

*Fisher.* (b) Read *vers. ult.* *If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar*: The born of God should lie if they did deny themselves to have sinned before the new birth.

*Danson.* *Vers. 8.* It is *ἀμαρτίαν ἐκ ἔχοντες*, the other *ἐν ἁμαρτίαις*, if the latter were to be understood of sins proceeding, the former is *presenti*.

*Whitehead.* Phil. 3. 15. *As many as be perfect.*

*Danson.* 1. It is used in a comparative sense in reference to others lesse. 2. Oft in Scripture perfect is put for upright. 3. Phil. 3. 12. the Apostle denies himself yet perfect.

*Fisher.* Psal. 119 1. *Blessed are the undefiled in the way, they also do no iniquity*, v. 2.

*Danson.* The phrases are hyperbolical, David otherwise excludes himself from blessedness.

Page 10.  
b 1. A Minister. 2. an Anabaptist. 3. now a Quaker, &c. hath been at Rome.

his wish, *vers.* 5. and other passages in the Psalm shews he was not free from sin.

Page 11. *Fisher.* Luke 1. 6. *And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.*

*Danson.* 1. How doth it appear, that *righteous before God* is meant of perfect inherent righteousness? 2. That *blameless* is meant otherwise then comparatively. *Phil.* 2. 15. *Blameless without rebuke*, in the same sense may *Luke* use the phrase, *Phil.* 3. 6. *Touching the righteousness which is in the Law blameless.* When a Pharisee, *i. e.* in respect of others, as *Luke* 18. 10. *Not as other men are.* 3. *Zacharias* is at this time guilty of unbelief, *Luke* 1. 10. *Because thou believest not my words.*

*Fisher.* No such thing of *Elizabeth*.

Page 13. *Danson.* Your argument is from the phrases; and if applicable to him guilty then they will not argue her to be free.

*Danson.* *Eccles.* 7. 10. *There is not a just man upon earth that doth good and sins not.*

*Hubberth.* If meant as thou wouldst, then Christ was not just.

*Danson.* Christ was God as well as man, the place excludes any meer man.

*c. D. H. v. Sublimis.*

*Fisher.* The just man spoken of is not on (c) earth; for he is redeemed from the earth; and in the *Revelation* he is said to be a dweller in heaven. Whereas the wrath of God is said to come on the inhabitants of the earth.

*Danson.* Can you possibly think that the just mans

mans being in heaven in respect of disposition and affection, and in Christ, excludes his locall abode on earth?

*Hubberth.* Heb. 12. 23. *Spirits of just men* Page 14. *made perfect*, spoken of them to whom the Apostle writes.

*Danson.* The Apostle sayes, we are one body with them in heaven, the spirits, &c.

Quest. 3. *Whether our good works are the meritorious cause of our justification?* §. 3.

**F***isher.* *Contraria contrariorum ratio*, our evill works are the cause of our condemnation; therefore our good of justification. (d) d Surely he was now newly come from Rome.

*Danson.* We deny the consequence, because our evill works are perfectly evill, our good but imperfectly so, any one evill is a violating of the Law, and deserves its penalty; but any or more good works, not the fulfilling it. Again, our evill and good works are not absolutely contrary, the one being perfectly evill, the other imperfectly good, *malum ex quolibet defectu, bonum ex integris causis*. Esay 64. 6. *All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags*. Lastly, our good works are due, and so cannot merit, our evil violate the Law.

*Fisher.* I prove the consequence from *Gal. 5. Page 15.* 18. *But if you be led by the spirit you are not under the law*. Whence, if they who are led by the spirit are not under the Law, then the leading of the spirit is the meritorious cause of their not



being under the Law : but they who are led by the spirit are not under the Law.

*Danf.* This is no proof of the consequence, you should have proved there is *par ratio*, for the merit of evill and good works, and the leading of the Spirit is an effect, not a meritorious cause of not being under the Law, *that is*, obliged to its penalty,

Page 16. *Fisher.* 1 Cor. 6. 11. *Such were some of you, but you are washed, but you are sanctified, but you are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God.* Here the Corinthians are said to be justified by the spirit.

*Danson.* I might say, perhaps the clause should be referred to sanctification, thus; *but ye are sanctified by the spirit of our God; or else justified by the spirit*, may be meant of the spirits application.

*Fisher.* Rom. 8. 2. *The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death.* Now 'tis the same law of the spirit of life that is in Christ and the Saints.

*Danson.* The Apostle asserts the holiness of mans nature as a work of the spirit, conforming it to the Law to be the meritorious cause of our freedom from sin and death; but not that which is in us, but in Christ. It is true, the same spirit is in Christ and the Saints, yet doth not the spirit conform us fully to the Law; nor if it did, were that conformity the merit of Justification?

Page 17. *Fisher.* Read Rom. 8. 4. *That the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us who walke*

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*not after the flesh, but spirit.* This place says, the righteousness of the Law is fulfilled in the persons of the Saints.

*Danson.* Vers. 3. tells, that the Law was weak through the flesh, i. e. unable to justify us in regard of our inability (through corruption) to fulfill it, which were untrue, if we were able; It follows, God sent his owne son to give what we could not attain by our own obedience to the Law: And as for vers. 4. it imports the end of Christs coming, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, not in our own persons, but in Christs righteousness imputed to us as if inherent.

*Danson* asked Mr. Fisher, whether Infants be Page 18.  
in a justified state or no? He answered, there are but two states, Justification, and Condemnation.

*Danson.* Before you maintained that our Justification was by a personall fulfilling of the Law; and now you grant some persons to be justified who never did fulfill it personally, here is a contradiction.

April 13.

6.4.  
Page 20.

**D***Anson* undertook to prove our good works are not the meritorious cause of our justification, from Rom. 11. 6. *And if by grace, then it is no more of workes, otherwise grace is no more grace; but if it be of workes, then it is no more of grace, otherwise work is no more worke.* If justification

cation be of works, then grace is excluded, for it cannot be of gift and debt in respect of us, but grace is not excluded, we are justified by grace therefore.

Page 21. Again, Rom. 10. 3. *For they being ignorant of Gods righteousness, and going about to establish their owne, have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God, for Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.* The Apostle makes a distinction between our owne righteousness and Gods, finds fault with them, who neglecting Gods, went to stablish their own, and he makes our righteousness a personall conformity to the Law, and Gods righteousness to be Christs, made ours by faith, you therefore are guilty, who make your owne righteousness your justification.

*Whitehead.* We do not make our own righteousness our justification, but the righteousness of God made manifest in us.

*Danson.* Yesterday you did assert our good works are the meritorious cause of our justification.

*Whitehead.* We witnesse to the righteousness of God according to *Phil. 3.9. Not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.*

*Danson.* The righteousness which is of Christ and of God by faith is called *Christ*, ver. 8. *That I may win Christ*, and how he our righteousness? As Christ was made sin for us, by imputation,

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tion: So that the Apostle by his *own righteousness* understands his personall conformity to the law, and by Christs, that in Christ made the Apostles by faith.

*Whitehead.* You make two, whereas the righteousness of Christ is but one.

*Danson.* The righteousness which the Apostle calls his *owne*, was it not Christs? and yet that was never in Christ as the subject, and Christ had an inherent righteousness of his own. Here are two righteousnesses, the one for our justification, the other for our sanctification.

*Whiteh.* Are we not justified by Christ *within us*?

*Danson.* By Christ without us.

*Whiteh.* Then by another Christ, and so two *Page 22.* Christs:

*Danson.* Christ *within us* is not his person, but his operations, the cause for the effect, and therefore it follows not, that we make two Christs: So that when I deny Justification by Christ *within us*, we deny it by that righteousness in us, whereof Christ is the Author.

*Whiteh.* I prove our sanctification gives us a *Page 23.* title to the inheritance, *Acts 20. 32.* *To the word of his grace which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance.*

*Danson.* *ὑποτάξις* cannot refer to grace (or if it did, grace intends not sanctification) but to *Deus* God.

*Fisher.* Tit. 3. 7. *That being justified by his grace, it is the same with washing of regeneration and*



and renewing of the holy Ghost, vers. 5.

*Danſon.* Grace there is meant of the favour of God, manifest in the giving of his son, imputation of righteousness and acceptance in him.

*Whitehead.* Rom. 4. 3. *Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.* Here faith is the cause of our Justification.

*Danſon.* Formerly it was, we are justified by a personall conformity to the whole Law, and now you will prove that a conformity to a part will suffice. Again, the Apostle doth oppose faith and workes; Now if faith be considered as a worke, there is no opposition, and does not that opposition exclude faith as a work? And is boasting excluded in justification by faith as a work? Rom. 3. 27. *Where is boasting? then it is excluded, by what Law? of workes, nay but by the law of faith: And Chap. 4. 5. to him that worketh not, but believeth.* For the Text, the act is put for the object, as if it had been Christ whom his faith layd hold on, was imputed for righteousness; but that faith is imputed, instead of personal righteousness, or as the meritorious cause I utterly deny.

§. 5.

April 19.

*Q. Whether the Scriptures are the word of God?*

Page 25.

*Mr. Fisher.* IF you mean by the Scripture <sup>graph</sup> the writing, we deny it.

*Danſon.* We meane the matter contained, whether

whether that be our rule of faith and life.

*Fisher.* There are severall books which are as *Page 26.*  
much a rule as those in your Bibles. *1 Cor. 5. 9.*  
*I wrote to you in an Epistle.* Here you have an E-  
pistle of *Paul* before what you call *the first.*

*Danson.* You should have proved that menti-  
oned, was intended as much for our rule, as those  
in our books.

*Fisher.* If written to the same end, then it  
was intended as much; but it was, therefore

*Danson.* I deny the consequence; Sermons,  
private religious discourses, have the same com-  
mon end, yet Scripture our only standing rule,  
the other as they agree therewith.

*Fisher.* What character have you of this Epi-  
stles being a rule, that the other wants?

*Danson.* Do you know it is extant?

*Fisher.* No.

*Page 27.*

*Danson.* There is a distinction, God hath re-  
served these for our use, the other not.

*Fisher.* Col. 4. 16. *And that you likewise read*  
*the Epistle from Laodicea*, a book you have not,  
but we have.

*Danson.* All that was written by holy men,  
and preserved for our use, is not therefore our  
standing rule, then the discourses of holy Mini-  
sters left in print; but what is the title of that  
Epistle?

*Fisher.* The *Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans.*

*Danson.* The place you bring, sayes not an  
Epistle to *Laodicea*, but from. But to the quest-  
*Whether the books commonly called the Old & new*

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*Whether the books commonly called the Old & new* *Page 28!*  
*Testament,*

*Testament were appointed by God for a standing rule of faith and life.*

*Fisher.* There is another; therefore the Scripture is not it. *Gal. 5. 16. This I say then, walke in the spirit; in and by the spirit, there is our rule.*

*Danson.* That phrase notes the principle, not the rule.

*Fisher.* You suppose the Letter antecedent to the Spirit, whereas the Spirit is antecedent, and none can walke in the Letter, till in the Spirit?

*Danson.* The Spirit is antecedent in respect of the revelation, but subsequent to the Letter, in respect of assistance which he gives to obedience.

*Page 29.* *Fisher.* If there was a rule before the Scripture, then that is not a rule; but there was, therefore

*Danson.* It was the same matter, since the Gospel preached to Adam, no increase of truths *quoad essentiam sed tantum quoad explicationem*; the manner of conveyance different, but the matter of Doctrine conveyed, still the same.

*Page 30.* *Fisher.* *Rom. 10. 8. The word is mighty even in thy heart,* but yours is without.

*Danson.* It is in thy mouth too. For you read not all.

*Fisher.* This is meant of the light in every mans conscience, it is a word which every man hath heard. *Vers. 18. But I say, have they not heard? Yes verily, their sound went into all the world*

*Danson.*

*Danson.* Then the light within is the spirit, you pleaded for to be the rule in opposition to Scripture: But *vers.* 18. speaks of the Gospel relating to the Preacher; v. 14, 15. And though the words are taken out of *Psalms* 19. yet they intend not that naturall knowledge of God which *David* speaks of; but the Apostle intimates, the knowledge of Christ by the Gospel should be of as large extent in the publication as the knowledge of God by the hearers ministry. And the word said to be in the heart is meant of Page 31. the matters contained in the Scripture, that is the word of faith which we preach.

*Fisher.* Col. 3. 16. Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, yours is without.

*Danson.* It was without, as it was the Letter of the Scripture, and his exhortation was to get acquaintance therewith, and he prescribes means in teaching one another, singing of *Psalms*, which were part of the words of Christ, as the matter and author.

*Fisher.* It is a fond custome, to make the people sing *Dauids* conditions, who have not his spirit.

*Danson.* Your objection holds as strongly against the use of them in the times of the *Old Testament*, and yet then they were part of publique Temple-worship, nor is it more a lye to sing, then read them.

By this Dispute you have a further discovery of their false Doctrines, and that in matters of great concernment, how 1. They labour to make



make the Scriptures imperfect. 2. Themselves perfect. 3. And the naturall light in man sufficient to salvation. 4. How, while they would set up Christ in word, they would set up a righteousness of their owne to Justification.

In a word, how in many things they plead the Popish cause, while they cry down the Ministers of Christ. You may also see their weakness and wickednesse in wresting of Scripture, how that strength of argument will not satisfie, and secure their obstinacy in darknesse under a pretence of light within them, God heal them of their blindnesse and obstinacy, or stop up their way, that they may not seduce Soules to destruction, and guide them that feare his name, in wayes of Truth and holinesse, through the Lord our Righteousness. Amen.

## CHAP. X.

*Shewing 1. Quakers instrumental to the introducing of Popery. 2. In some of their Tenents dangerous to States.*

*The first may appear both by Principles and Practices.*

*1. In their Tenents.*

**T**Hat the Ministers of the Reformed Churches are no true Ministers. 2. That a man

man is justified by the merit of his good workes.

3. That the *Scriptures* should not be read by ignorant and unlearned.
4. That a man may perfectly keep the Law.
5. Denying the imputed righteousness of Christ for justification.
6. That *Scripture* is not the supreme rule.
7. Pretending to revelations and miracles.
8. That *H. D.* doth not know whether Purgatory be revealed in Scripture or not.
9. The infallibility of their Ministry.

## 2. Their practice.

1. **G**eorge Cowlishaw, Ironmonger of Bristol affirms on oath, *January 22. 1654.* that in *September* before, he had some discourse there with one *Coppinger* an *Irish* man, who told him that he had lived in *Rome* and *Italy* 8. or 9. years, and had taken the order of a *Franciscan*, and that he had been at *London* lately for some moneths; and whilst there, had been at all the Churches and meetings publick and private that reason, to affirme no such persons spake among them, and they know the names of such as have not railed.

he could hear of, (a) and that none came so near him as the *Quakers*; (b) And being at a meeting of the *Quakers*, he there met with (c) two of his acquaintance at *Rome*, of the same *Franciscan* order that were now become chief speakers among the *Quakers*; and that he himself had spoken among the *Quakers* in *London* about thirty times,

P

and

*Prjn.*

The *Quakers* deny the thing. The innocent delivered out of the snare, p. 40. and the cry of blood, p. 8. on this

How diligent.

To their praise.

a design.

A fair door open- ed.

c Marke. and was well approved of among them. (e) Coppinger asked him if there had been no Quakers at Bristoll, he answered, no. He replied, that if he would give him 5 pound, he would make it five hundred, if some did not come within a moneth, and about 18. dayes after, there came two, probably his two Franciscan Frjars, which did much hurt, and gained many Disciples.

As also by what follows, c. 11. Since which they have there taken root, and spread, of which you have a full discovery in the story of James Naylor, before spoken of, who in his answer to Baxter, p. 15. takes notice of this story, and thus replies: "If reason  
" may judge, most likely came over to second  
" your envy against us; why did you not keep  
" him? Seeing the Law required it, then might  
" it have been proved if he had been a Speaker  
" amongst us: And in the margin, read, the  
" judgements of God begun on him who took  
" that oath, and take warning.

Ans. 1. to the 1. It will not easily be credited unlesse by themselves, their tenents and practices have rendred them so bad, we need not be put to such unworthy shifts.

2. Are all Lawes executed? we should then be in a far better condition, and they in a worse, yea Naylor himselve, through connivance fared better then the Sentence did allow.

3. How blind is that in the Margin; the thing he hints is so remarkable and making to his purpose, that hee should have told what, or where.

2. Samuel

2. *Samuel Fisher* 1. denied not that he had <sup>Quakers</sup> been at *Rome*; but that he received a pension <sup>folly p. 56.</sup> from the *Pope* he utterly denied, which is probably as true; for it is had from very good hands, that in his late travell to *Constantinople*, and thence to *Rome*, he had as good bills of *Exchange* as most Gentlemen that travell, and yet it is well known that he hath no visible estate, and the *Quakers* that came to the dispute did report, that he did bear his witness against the *Pope* and *Cardinals* at *Rome*, and yet they suffered him not to be inledled with, is it not very suspicious the true cause of his safety was his compliance with them? The Doctrines which he broaches every where being theirs, and a fair inlet to their bag and baggage.

2. Mr. *Thomas Foxton* jurat. *Thomas Barber* Page 57. *Cooper*, sufficient and credible men of *Sandwich*, had some discourse with him at *Dunkirke*, and he told them he looked upon the *Jesuits* and *Fryars* there to be *founder(f)* in Doctrine then those we <sup>f As found</sup> call the *Reformed Churches*. <sup>had been</sup> <sup>fair.</sup>

3. Hundreds can testify how light he made of the charge of *Popery* on the first day of the Dispute, when *Amesius* against *Bellarmino* was produced, and with a gesture of derision he replied that *Bellarmino* held many truths, which must not be rejected because he held them.

To the former part of this story, *Gotherfon* (g) makes a reply such as it is, viz. "For those <sup>g Alarm,</sup> false aspersions cast upon him of his recei- <sup>P. 80</sup>ving a pension from the *Pope*, I know his soul



“ abhorreth any such thing, and that he is as  
 “ great a hater of the *Pope* and his wayes as any  
 “ man in *England* is; and I know he hath no  
 “ such need, nor ever will have: for they that  
 “ seeke the kingdome of God, and the righteousnesse  
 “ thereof, all other things shall be administred  
 “ to them. And I do verily think that there is  
 “ not a man in *England* more able to confute error  
 “ and heresie.

*Answ.* Many words, little proof, a great cry,  
 and no wooll; he saith they are false aspersions,  
 but proves it not *verba non sunt probata*, unlesse  
 that this must be admitted for one, *I know his*  
*soule abhors any such thing*; he may be deceived  
 in the temper of his owne soule, much more in  
 anothers: but *he is as great a hater of the Pope*  
*and his wayes as any man in England.* 1. The  
 Pope and his wayes are better beloved then I did  
 imagine. 2. Surely there are thousands in *En-*  
*land* not halfe so well affected as he. 3. His  
 hatred, and the greatnesse of it visibly appears  
 by the latter part of the relation.

Again, *I know he hath no such needs nor never*  
*will have.* 1. Many men do that of which there  
 is no need: There are that have pensions, not  
 out of necessity; though he be not one of the  
*Popes Almes-men*, yet he may be one of his *Fa-*  
*ctors*: but how proves he? *he never will have, for*  
*they that seek the kingdome of God*; the Scripture  
 is true, the inference false. 1. Shall we say, that  
 those who are necessitated to receive almes or  
 pensions, seek not the kingdome of God? Or  
 2. That

2. That none of them that do shall ever come to need? I am sure I have seen a Quaker begge and plead necessity, and a Minister relieve her too in that condition: But that *Gotherson* hath too high an opinion of Mr. *Fisher* is evident enough. *I do verily thinke that there is not a man in England more able to confute error and heresie.* Oh *England*! if this be so, take up a great lamentation, and bitterly bewail thy sad condition, and the losse of so many famous men that thou formerly enjoyedst, every way furnished with weapons of truth to maintain verity against all opposers: but how is thy condition changed; that now Mr. *Fisher* should be as tall as any in *England*, and as fit to contend for the faith? But for all these swelling words (*h*) of vanity, and doting affection of *Gotherson*, Mr. *Fishers* weakness appears; 1. By his running from one thing to another, Minister, Anabaptist, Quaker. 2. By his managing the Dispute at *Sandwich* so far as he was concern'd, if he be so able, let him peruse his own *Fishers Folly*, his great book in *Folio*, in defence of *Anabaptisme*. and see what he can further maintain, or handsomly retract.

3. "Mr. *H. Den* in his *Quaker no Papist*, A gag for  
 "pretending to defend the *Quaker*, saith not Quakers,  
 "one word in defence of any Sect, but onely the Epist. to  
 "down-right open *Papist*, and uses the very same the Read-  
 "arguments, and the same words against *Prote-*  
 "stants in generall as the *Papists* do in their dai-  
 "ly printed books.

And the answer to Mr. *Dens Quaker no Papist*, fol. 59, 60. saith, "I shall only mention a few of Mr. *Henry Dens* positions, delivered by him in this Tract; As

"1. That he does not know whether Purgatory be revealed in Scripture or not, p. 12. l. penult.

"2. That it is clear, whoever takes the oath of Abjuration (i) doth forswear the privileges of Parliament, p. 14. medio.

"3. That in good earnest he thinks those who had their ordination from the Church of Rome, and do not obey the Pope, are rebels, disobedient, and apostates, if they defend the necessity of ordination by Bishops, pag. 16. medio.

"4. That he finds as much honest proceedings and credit in Papists as in Protestants, p. 15. l. penult. and can see no great reason of fear or danger from Papists, p. 18. l. 3.

"5. That he does very confidently assure himself, that if an Oath were tendred to all the Papists in this Nation, they would all willingly swear, that neither they themselves, nor any that they know, did ever use any such practice as is reported of *Ramsy* by Mr. *Prin* and some in *Cambridge*, & of a *Franciscan* by Mr. *Baxter*, and swear that neither they nor any they know did ever make profession for what ends soever to be of any Religion save onely their own, p. 19. fine.

"6. That no Protestant Minister either in

Eng-

i And  
whereas  
they  
would  
blind this  
with swear  
not at all,  
yet in o-  
ther cases  
they can  
swear, nor  
only be-  
fore a Ma-  
gistrate,  
but pro-  
fanely. R  
B. in his  
Q.

K. Charles  
daves, and  
our owne  
will testi-  
fy.

“ *England*, or beyond the Seas, hath any better  
 “ ordination or commission to preach then *Geo.*  
 “ *Whitehead* the Quaker, p. 8, 9, 10. Lastly,  
 “ that the present *Roman Church*, and no other  
 “ is the pure Spouse of Christ, or else there hath  
 “ been none in all ages.

Lastly, at the end of a *Gag for Quakers*, there  
 are questions propounded to *G. Whiteb. & Fox*;  
 and p. 16. these considerable passages; “ Have  
 “ we not cause to believe you *Geo. Whitehead* to  
 “ be a Papist? For 1. maintaining Popish Do-  
 “ctrines, expressed in *Ishmael*, and other of your  
 “ printed books. 2. For refusing to abjure a-  
 “ ny one point of Popery. 3. For deterring  
 “ the common people from reading *Scripture*, by  
 “ telling them in your book against *Clapham*,  
 “ *it's carnal, the Letter kills*, and therefore can-  
 “ not safely be read by them. 4. For defend-  
 “ ing *Bellarmino* with your Colleague *F.* whom  
 “ you have seen proved a Papist by witnesses, in  
 “ a book printed for *Joh: Allen*, p. 57. 5. For  
 “ your pretending to infallibility in all points.  
 “ 6. For your saying confidently in the *Majors*  
 “ house that you knew all the Fathers of the first  
 “ three hundred years were Papists. 7. For  
 “ your citing places in the *Apocrypha* for Cano-  
 “ nicall Scripture, as *Parrot* cites *Wisdom* 4. 8, 9.  
 “ to elude *Levit. 19. 22* See *Goliath*, p. 63. (k) *kVidi &*  
 “ 8. For refusing to tell the people (though oft testor.  
 “ urged thereto) at your meeting house in *Pa-*  
 “ lace yard last May, whether you were a Ro-  
 “ manist or not, your companion thereupon  
 P 4 “wink.



“winking at you, and causing you to be silent,  
 “and let another stand up and exercise in your  
 “stead. 9. Because the Papists talk passionate-  
 “ly, and write books in your behalf, and you  
 “do as much for them against us Protestants.  
 “10. Because when you are not among Scholars  
 “(as at *Lynn* and other places) you pretend to  
 “learning of all sorts, divine and humane, skill  
 “in the originall Languages: but when in *Cam-*  
 “*bridge* you appear unversit in all manner of  
 “learning. 11. For joyning your selfe to  
 “such as have Licenses from the Pope to seduce  
 “men in *England*, with this expresse clause, *non*  
 “*obstante concilio Tridentino*; the original in-  
 “strument of one of these your brethren Fry-  
 “ars with this punctual expression, being now  
 “with the *Town-Clarke* of *Bristol*. The writing  
 “of this minds me of what two other Quakers  
 said at a discourse with them in *Southwarke*, one  
 of them being told that he was a *Jesuite*; he pre-  
 sently replied, he was of *the order of Jesus*; and  
 the other Quaker, though at some distance, and  
 arguing with another at the very moment, could  
 take so much notice as to add, *yea we are all the*  
*Disciples of Jesus*. A Gentleman of good credit  
 assured me that he met with an *English Jesuite*  
 in *London* the first Lords day in *June* last, 1659.  
 one who was bred in *Cambridge*, and had been  
 formerly of his acquaintance; who after some  
 shiness to be known, at length confessed that he  
 came over to propagate the *Roman faith*, and  
 told him there was a good honest people called  
 Quakers,

Quakers, whom we jeered at, that did their work at the second hand, and he boasted much of the numbers that turned *Catholicks* immediately, or mediately by becoming Quakers. *Danson* in his *Quakers follie*, Edit. 2. Narrat. p. 2. But they have writ much against Popery, and cry out of it.

There may be two faces under one hood. The waterman looks on one way, rows another. To cry thief first, the way to escape. Page 47.

By this light from within it doth appear, what darkness they would lead us into, and leave us in, thus dangerous are they to the true reformed Church of Christ: but not onely to that, but even to very civil society; & the civil Magistrate is little beholding to them, nay is in danger by them, as appears not only by their rude carriage in the very face of the highest Authority, and their sawcy language; but by some passages of theirs in print to all the world; therefore 'tis not without ground spoken by those that writ, *A faithful discovery of a treacherous design*. "But be assured, if the Magistrates had not a "materiall Sword, as the Ministers have not, "their language would light as heavy on their "heads, and more then so. To give a taste "of some

## 2. Dangerous passages against Magistrates.

1. **G**otherson in his *Allarm*, p. 66. "Now "that Magistrate, whose heart is not "touched with the true fear of the Lord; & that "seed of true faith that is as small as a grain of "mustard-seed, hath got the preheminance, and "is

"is chief in his soul, and Christ Jesus is set up in  
 "his soule in him on the Throne, that he hath  
 "the whole heart, and the whole man is in his  
 "dominion, that can truly say, by bearing testi-  
 "mony to the witness of God in him; That to  
 "him to live is Christ, and to dye is gain; unlesse  
 "the Magistrate be such, he is not Christs Magi-  
 "strate: For those that are Christs have crucified  
 "the flesh with the affections and lusts: And no  
 "drunkard, whoremaster, swearer, proud, am-  
 "bitious, self-seeker, lover of pleasures more  
 "then lovers of God, having a form of godli-  
 "ness, but denying the power thereof, no such  
 "can be said to be of God, & so are not to have that  
 "double honour which is due to Magistrates, that  
 "do truly rule in this fear. And this discovers  
 "plainly how short those Judges and Justices  
 "come of being godly Magistrates that suffer and  
 "consent to the imprisoning of just and righte-  
 "ous ones whom the Lord esteemeth as the ap-  
 "ple of his eye; and those that touch them to  
 "their hurt will one day find it, that the Lord  
 "esteems them as his jewels, and yet how is the  
 "Goals filled with them through the Nation?  
 "And some have perished to death, because they  
 "cannot consent for conscience sake to pay  
 "Tythes, seeing them to be a great and abomina-  
 "ble oppression.

1. *Dat bona verba, sed latet anguis in her-  
 ba*: Here are many good words wrested and  
 misapplied, but *verba sapienti sat non sunt*;  
 though they may deceive the simple, they will  
 not those that understand.

2. It

2. It were indeed very desirable, that all who ruled, the Lord did rule them; and that they who reigned by God, God did reign in them: Oh! that the Lords on earth, were the Lords of heaven, such whose hearts were touched with the true fear of the Lord; and that Christs Throne was in their hearts that were in the Thrones, that our Kings were nursing fathers, and our Queens nursing mothers, and that they made their glory serve to the new *Jerusalem*, very good will the times be, when great men are greatly good: But

3. *Dominium non fundatur in gratia*: And it is false, and dangerous to say, *unless the Magistrate be such, he is not Christs Magistrate*; and that they that have only a forme of godlinesse, no such can be said to be of God, and so are not to have that double honour which is due to Magistrates that do truly rule in his fear. If they be great and good, they are to be honoured the more for that: But if God hath thought good to make them great, we must not think much to give them honour; for God hath commanded it in the first Commandment with promise, *Honour thy father and mother*.

4. Good men in some particulars may suffer as Malefactors, when they notoriously offend, the Judge may righteously punish, yea, should offend, if their goodness should be immunity for what evil soever they commit: but what persons he reckons on, he presently declares, *how is the Gaols filled with them through the Nation? and some have perished to death*. If he in Colche-

*ster*

וְהָיָה  
כְּכֹהֵן  
בְּיָמֵינוּ  
וְכֵן



After Gaole, it was through his own default, famished himself through a wilfull abstinency, and the curse lies on him that transgresses, not on the Judge executing Law, the business of Tythe need not so stumble: but there are that conceive, that were with-held, it would strike heavy at the publique Ministry, and *that is the eye-sore.*

δόξας  
βλασφη-  
μῶσι.  
Jude 8.

2. The same Gotherdon seems to speak *evil* dignities, in that passage p. 81. of his *Allarm*. None ought to have the title of Worthy, but those that truly set their face toward Zion. It is not much worthy of many words: but surely thought

Pro. 12. 26.

וְהַיָּשָׁר  
יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה  
לְיָהוָה  
וְהַיָּשָׁר  
יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה

1 Cor. 11. 3.

κεφαλή  
ἐκκλησίας  
ὡς ὁ  
Χριστός.

m Goliath,

pag. 63.

would

foolishly

avoid it by

saying wil-

dom is the

gray hair.

M. Danson.

the righteous is more excellent than his neighbour, there is a worthiness of Sex, there is a difference between *hic* and *hac*, superiority in relations, the man is the head of the woman, a hoary head, (m) that young men must honour parts and places that carry reverence in the face of them; this man by the light within him cannot, or will not read the fifth Commandment written in his heart, but one day conscience will accuse him. I had not said so much, but that he layes such stresse upon it, in words before. This Priest is a bolsterer of men up in their sins, and sows pillows under their armes, for he calleth them **WORTHY** that are his hearers, a worthy proof, and most unworthy charge. And whether tends this, but to make all men of no esteem that are not adorned with the jewel of grace, nor those neither unless Quakers.

3. Again in his *Allarm*, p. 116 ult. "Let all Rulers and Magistrates cease their meddling  
"with

“ with setting the things of Gods Kingdom, for  
 “ I have seen they have all been broken to pieces  
 “ as soon as they go about that work, for the  
 “ Lord will do his worke himselve : but he will  
 “ break the great Potsheards of the earth to pie-  
 “ ces, if they meddle with those things that con-  
 “ cern the setting of his kingdome, with more to  
 “ the same. But

*Ans. 1.* But why all this? *That they might*  
*destroy, and none might let:* They that have so  
 much boldness now, what would they then, make  
 all bow or break before them? It is not forgot-  
 ten into what a condition we had almost been  
 cast into by you. *2.* The Lord hath alway done  
 his work himselve, and yet hath vouchsafed to  
 make use of means, *Moses, David, Solomon,*  
 even to build, *Josias, Hezekias, Zerubbabel,*  
 to repair: And when he speaks of Gospel times,  
 he doth engage to do great things by great men  
 whose wealth, and power, and dignity, should  
 much conduce to *Hierusalems* glory. *3.* And  
 it is evident enough, were the *Quakers* but Lords  
 in the earth, they would meddle with the things  
 of God and Christ, not to build, but pull down  
 with a witnels, in principle, practice, perswas-  
 ions, and great threatning words, they do now Eph. 2. 2.  
 what lies in them, and more too, but that they  
 are holpen by the Prince of the ayre which workes  
 in the children of disobedience, and leads them cap-  
 tive at his will.

*4.* In the *Questions* at the end of *A Gag for*  
*Quakers*, p. 4. Q. 14. there is this query put;  
 “ Do  
 “ Do

“Do not you say that the Magistrate who maketh  
 “*Acts of Parliament*, and doth not receive them  
 “from God, as *Moses* did, doth act contrary  
 “to the Law of God, as I made in the Book call-  
 “led *Fiery darts of the Devill quenched*, printed  
 “by *Calvert*, 1654. and subscribed by six Qua-  
 “kers, the answer to this is *Y E A*.

Are you not ashamed? Have you no more wit  
 then thus to speak out, and confirm it with a  
 Yea? What doth this, but at once cut off the  
 head of all humane Lawes, and make Magistracy  
 even an ineffectuall cipher, not in any capaci-  
 ty to make Laws *pro hic & nunc*, they have for-  
 gotten *ex malis moribus nascuntur bona leges*, that  
 the wickednesse of the times timely occasions  
 good Laws: but the tendency of this is most per-  
 nicious to perswade men to rule, and be ruled by  
 the pretence of immediate Revelations, and  
 then the Devill will play *Rex* indeed: witnesse  
 l. 1. c. 3. 4. but that sad story of *Munster*, mentioned in the  
 first Book, where all was done by pretence of  
 Inspiration, till all was undone; the like in all  
 circumstances never being acted under the Sun.  
 God give our K. and Senators wisdom to enact  
 wholsome Laws in such a time as this for the es-  
 tablishing of truth, righteousness and peace,  
 and then shall we and our posterity in the obey-  
 ing of them be happy, and have great cause to  
 blesse the great Law-giver, though he give not  
 Laws to them, as sometime to *Moses*.

5. In the same Author q. 16. is it not confessed  
 by your selves, in *Sauls errand*, p. 4. and attested  
 by

by several Justices of the Peace, Ministers of the Gospel, and people in the County of *Lancaster*, that you teach Doctrines that break the relation of Subjects to their Magistrates, Wives to their *Baxters* Husbands, Children to their Parents, Servants to *Quakers* their Masters, Congregations to their Ministers, *Catechism* and of a People to their God. *p. 16. I know the highest of*

*your Self do forbid your owning of such relations. See Tolderry before Cap. 3. a sufficient answer with Gotherston afterward to Naylors denying of it.*

*Ans. Our Doctrin tends to the breaking no true relations.*

*Reply.* It seems you think those no true Relations.

But here once for all, Let me take an occasion to raise up against them, an enemy from among themselves, who though in other things theirs, yet in this of naturall relations, and some other things is clear and full against them.

*Epist. 4.*

*Allarm.*

*p. 50.*

“ **A**mong those tender Lambs of Christ, those Babes that are born again, those plants of the Lords right hand, trees of his own planting that are full of sap, the Cedars of *Lebanon*, I mean those that are by the wicked of the earth, the men of this world in scorn called *Quakers*.

By this you see what an high account he hath of them, and how low of all beside them.

“ Among



“ Among those is crept in wicked deceivers,  
 “ ungodly men and ungodly women, even as  
 “ *Judas* crept in amongst the Apostles, such who  
 “ thinke *that gain is godliness*, such who follow  
 “ Christ for the loaves, such as thinke they can  
 “ serve two Masters, God and *Mammon*, Christ  
 “ and riches, Christ and lust, Christ and the  
 “ world, Christ and *Antichrist*. We see then

1. Though they boast of perfection, yet they are a mingled mixed multitude, there are evil and dangerous persons got amongst them.

2. That simple people had need to be wary; for by this very confession a man is in danger; instead of meeting with an honest *Quaker*, to be caught by a *Judas*, a servant of *Lust*, *Mammon* and *Antichrist*. “ Such who teach the doctrine of Devils that *Paul* speaks of, denying  
 “ to marry, and to abstain from meats, such  
 “ as turn the grace of God in them into wantonnesse, truce breakers; breakers of Covenants, pretending they were married in their  
 “ carnall estate; and they were never moved of  
 “ the Lord, and therefore they may leave their  
 “ Husbands, their Wives. This is dangerous enough, and the foundation laid broad enough; *Married in their carnall estate*, when the man is truly grown more carnall, then when married, and lusts after strange flesh, then shall this serve for a bill of Divorce: and when they shall be moved by the Devill then, *they were never moved by the Lord*: Are not these such, as while they promise to others liberty, are themselves the servants of sin.

Neer kin  
to Papists.

But

But hear *Gosheron* himself. "That spirit  
 "those are guided by is of *Satan*, and so will  
 "lead them to take others, as their blinde ignis  
 "fatuus leads them; for by nothing but imagina-  
 "tion, lust & fancies are such led: And such leads  
 "away silly women that are captivated by *Satan*.  
 "laden with divers lusts & pleasures, that are al-  
 "ways learning, & never able to come to the know-  
 "ledge of the truth; Others are led to neglect  
 "their families and relations, and children, con-  
 "trary to that of *Paul*, *A man is perfect in an in-*  
 "fidel that doth not provide for his family, meaning  
 "his outward family. (n) For let every man wait  
 "on his calling, and God hath appointed that the  
 "creation shall be managed, that man may be  
 "Lord of all the creatures: And *Christ* saith, *It is*  
 "a more happier (o) thing to give than to receive:  
 "And the Apostle commandeth to lay up, that  
 "there may be a distribution among the Saints, and  
 "how can he lay up, that is idle, and runs too  
 "and fro, wasting his time in idleness, and con-  
 "suming his precious time, while his wife and  
 "children wants at home? And so this spirit  
 "rends & tears the affections of men from their  
 "Wives, and women from their Husbands, and  
 "children from their parents; and this that  
 "brings into a disuniting is not the spirit of the  
 "Lord, for the spirit of the Lord brings into union.  
 "This spirit of righteoutnesse teacheth a man to  
 "know his own wife, and love her as *Christ* did  
 "the Church, and it teaches the woman to know  
 "and love her own Husband. God hath been  
 pleased to pluck some out of the snare, but o-  
 thers

2 Pet. 2. 19.  
 ἐλευθερίαν  
 αὐτοῖς ἐ-  
 παγγέλλο-  
 μεν αὐ-  
 τοῖς λαοῖς  
 πᾶσι Χεῖρες  
 τῆς ἀθρησῆς  
 All Qua-  
 kers then  
 are not  
 led by the  
 light with-  
 in them.  
 Give Mi-  
 nisters  
 leave to  
 provide  
 for theirs.  
 His own  
 English.

thers thereby have been hardned ; so out of this mans month truth in this proceeds ; oh ! that the rest may not the more oppose it.

Page 51. He goes on. " Others there are that are very  
 " loose in their carriage ; and deny the resurre-  
 " ction of the body, contrary to the doctrine of  
 Tit. 1. 12. " the Apostle, saying, *the resurrection is past al-*  
 Ἰδοὺ αὐτῶν " ready, these do erre not knowing the Scrip-  
 προφήτης. " tures, and so are led into the distraction which  
 " causes disturbance, and this is by the cunning-  
 " nesse of Satan, and this simple people are led  
 " captive by him.

*Epist. 5. p. 54.*

" **I**T is not as *Roger Crab, William Smith, and*  
 " *John Dunck* surmises, and others, in wearing  
 " hair or not hair, neither is it in dirty hands or  
 " faces as they fondly do surmise ; neither is it in  
 " straw hats, or such fond conceits. We see in  
 " what poor ridiculous things these people put  
 " their Religion in. " It is not in denying the  
 " lawful use of the creatures ; for the Apottle  
 " saith, *Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that*  
 " *eat, making no scruple for conscience sake :* So  
 " that a man may lawfully eat all creatures, as  
 " well as hearbs, or what grows naturally, and  
 " every creature of God is good, and nothing to  
 " be refused, if received with praise and thanks-  
 " giving : And if they, or any led by their fond  
 " decentful spirit, deny the resurrection of  
 " the body of Christ out of the grave, let them  
 " read *Luke 26. 3. 7.* and so on. *Acts 1. 9.* They  
 " are superstitious in their observances, and des-  
 " perately erroneous in their judgements ; their  
 Hetero-

Heterodoxies are not small, therefore he concludes well; "The head of the Serpent is too powerful in *Roger Crab* and his followers, and leads them captive to do his will. This is a true saying, and worthy of serious consideration of them, and the rest of that conspiracy. And I shall take my leave of them even in *Gotherfons* own language.

"And so dear friends I desire you to repent and turn, and put away the evill of your doings; Cease to do evill, learn to do well, hide the word of the Lord in your hearts, that you may not sin against God, and be content with this knowledge of the Lord, to know what he requires of thee, and to do it, and that is this, *What doth the Lord thy God require of thee O man, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walke humbly with thy God.*

# CHAP. XI.

*A Narrative of some publique proceedings in reference to Quakers,*

*In Westmerland.*

*To the Justices of the Peace.*

*The Petition of divers Ministers and other Inhabitants in the said County.*

*Humbly sheweth,*

**T**hat *James Naylor* and *George Fox*, men whose Country, habitation, profession and



condition is to us generally unknown, meerly of their own accord have entred into the *County*, and together with some others their companions and *Profelytes* who are risen up among our selves in it, have filled it in some parts with very sad divisions and distractions, stirred up much hatred wrath and strife, even between the neereſt relations, and powerfully ſeduced *multitudes* of people from the truth, and true worſhip of God, to embrace their own corrupt and dangerous doctrines, and follow their pernicious wayes; which things are ſo notoriously known to all that live in thoſe parts, that we need not here ſay any thing to acquaint you with it. And though thoſe men tell people where they come, that they are ſent to them from God to declare what he hath revealed *in them*, and labour to perſwade them that they came to them with the *authority of the Apoſtles* of Chriſt; yet our ſelves do confidently believe and know them to be wicked men, deceivers, and the very Miniſters of Satan, as may appear

1. By the *Horrid blaſphemies* which they uttered. 2. By the *damnable Heresies* and dangerous errors which they have broached. All which tend not onely to the diſturbance of the publique peace and ſafety of the Commonwealth, but to the *ſubverſion of all government*. We do in all humility addreſs our ſelves humbly and earneſtly praying, as you tender the glory of God, and the good of ſo many ſoules as are, or may be indangered by their impious principles and practiſes, that you would be pleaſed to  
make

make use of that authority wherewith the Lord hath invested you, speedily to provide for the safety of true Religion and the publique Peace, by checking the wicked endeavours and proceedings of these men; which we humbly conceive, may be at least by ordering *James Naylor*, and *George Fox*, &c. being strangers, to depart out of this County, & to return to their own homes. *Francis Howgill* to be of better deportment specially toward the Magistracy and Ministry of England, and by enjoining *John Airey*, *Alexander Dixon*, and the rest of the speakers and followers that live in this County, to abide at their own homes, study to be quiet, and do their own business, labouring in their own Calling, which is the Apostles rule, and not to wander up and down the County as seducers, to draw Disciples after them, save onely in a way of travell as private men about their own occasions, and the Lords gracious guidance of you in the affairs of so great concernment, we shall ever pray. Given up at the Court at the Sessions at *Appleby*.

*Another.*

*To the R. H. the Justices of Peace for the County of Westmerland.*

*The humble Petition of severall Gentlemen, Ministers of the Gospel, and others.*

*Humbly shews,*

**T**Hat in the late Wars, we, or the most of us did expose lives, liberties, estates and relations, with all other personal advantages, in the

just

just defence of *Religion* and *Liberty*, in concurrence with, and maintaining of the just proceedings of our *Parliament*, after the prosperous effects whereof, we expected the settlement of the grand ends of our engagement; and so much the more as being the promise of the *Parliament*, the vows of their affections, the price of our prayers, purses, hazards, losses, banishments, and the blood of many thousands, our fellow-servants in the work of God, truly sacrificed in the quarrel of this Nation. What hath bin done in the settlement of our civill Rights, Peace, and wholsom Laws, we blesse God for, and the *Parliament* as his instruments; Nor can we but acknowledge what hath been done by them in the Cause of God, as their Acts against *Adulteries*, *Fornication*, *Swearing*, *Drunkenness*, *Sabbath-breaking*: Ordinances against promoters of Heretical Doctrines. Acts against *Ranters*, or *Blasphemers*, may the Lord encrease the number of these things.

Yet so it is, that in this County several persons, Profelytes of one *George Fox* and *James Naylor*, do in the time of our Assemblies, ordinarily in a way of contempt and scorn come in among us with their hats on at the time of our prayer, or singing used in our Congregations: Some of them shew violent actions in time of Sermon, or Prayer, or singing, & cry out aloud with horrible clamours, slanders, abuses, reproaches against our Ministers, to the stirring up of wofull Tumults, evident disturbing of the work, and the turning of the peaceable Assemblies of the Church

Church of Christ into the grossest confusion: that their deportment is such, and with so continuall violence against the most godly of our Ministers, in all places of their travels, in the streets abusing them with railing language, scornfull behaviours, walking in the Markets with such great numbers together, and scarce passing by any one not of their judgement without abusive words; that as it cannot but shew us no small symptoms of bad designs, so no small reason to provide for our security: That it is their great designe to stir up the spirits of people against the Ministers of *England* in generall without distinction, setting forth and sending abroad daily almost, Libels and Slanders against the office, as needlesse, terming them as, or under the names of *Antichrists*, *Antichrists Merchants*, *Tythmongers*, *Robbers*, *Deceivers*, *Ministers of the world*, *Priests*, *Murtherers*, *Conjurers*, *Devils*, and attempting to make Proclamations in the open Markets to the said effect. That their main drift is to engage the people against the Ministry by reason of Tythes, crying out with open clamour against Tythes, as unlawful, antichristian, to the necessary overthrowing of the Laws to that purpose; bringing an odium upon the Government, and tending to stir up sedition in the people, to with draw their due obedience from the Lawes and Government of *England*; That besides what others perhaps may know of the *blasphemies* of them, we do plainly see and know, that their practices do exceedingly favour of *Sorcery*; the quakings, swellings, roarings, foamings, (and such as we never heard



heard of, but such as were possessed of the Devil) of persons at their meetings, and especially of young children : And giving too sad a suspicion of it, and the more by reason of the *known suspicion upon George Fox to deal with the Devil* before he came to us in these parts. That we know the principles of some of their followers are *against subjection to Magistrates, against distinction amongst men*; and the practices of the most is such, that there is a *denying of relations, children professedly refusing subjection to their Parents, servants to their Masters*. That we are sensible what confusions, divisions, tumults, and parties are made by these mens disturbances, and cannot but with sadnesse of spirit remember, that such small beginnings have in other Nations grown to eat out their peace, and stagger the foundations of their States : As also to lay it before you, what advantage it gives for the common Enemy, weakens the *Parliaments* Interest in the peoples hearts; to see such persons unrestrained, creates discontents, and layes a clear foundation for Civill Wars, or at least advantage to the *Hollanders* or *French* now in arms against us, to carry on their wicked intentions with greater facility.

Therefore as you are Christians, and English Magistrates, we are free men born of *England*, and desiring something more, as instruments under God with others of your present peace, do cry and challenge from you.

1. Your timely looking to the peace of *England*, that seems too evidently to be endeavoured to be rent asunder.
2. The

2. The protection of our selves and our Ministers from violence or disturbance in our Worship of God, and suppression of offenders.

3. Execution of the Statute against *Sabbath-breakers*, and such as under pretence of Religion are in no religious Assemblies that day.

4. Charge to all differing Judgements to meet together each *Lords day* peaceably, and not to spread themselves to severall places for disturbance.

5. Suppression of persons living without any Calling, and your witnessing against all *Blasphemers* of the name of God, especially such as are contained in the Acts of *Parliament*; and if the application of any effectuall remedy lye not within your power, that you would please to joyn with us in this designe, and transmit this cause to the *Right Honourable the Council of State*, as a cause too neerly concerning the peace of *England*. And we shall ever pray, &c.

An Order that was ordered at the Sessions at  
Appleby in Westmerland.

Ordered, That whosoever shall hereafter disturb any Minister in the publique Exercise of his Ministry within this County, or give any scandalous, or opprobrious termes against any of them, shall be apprehended by the Constables or Church-wardens of the place, where the offence shall be committed and brought before the next Justice of the Peace, to finde sureties for his or her good behaviour: And upon refusing to finde such sureties

*sureties, to be committed to the Common Gaol till willingly they shall do the same, or be from thence delivered by due course of Law. And likewise all such persons as meet in great numbers and assemblies in the night time within this County, shall be apprehended and bound to good behaviour as aforesaid.*

I find *James Naylor* to have been prisoner at *Appl-by*, and then to have written his *Discovery of the first wisdom from beneath*, and the 2d. *Wisdom from above*.

## 2. In Worcestershire.

### A Mittimus.

*To the Keeper of the Gaol for the County of  
WORCESTER.*

*Cujus con-  
trarium  
verum  
Badaire.*

**F**ORasmuch as *Thomas Goodaire*, the 25th. of this instant *March*, being the *Lords day*, came into the *Parish Church of Kidderminster* at such a time as many hundreds of the good people of this Common-wealth were assembled to worship God, and there misbehaved himselfe, not onely by reproachfull speeches against the Minister; but also by affronting the chief Magistrate of this Corporation, by contemptuous speeches and gestures, whilst he was in discharge of the duty of his place, to the great disturbance of the publick peace, and the grief and perturbation of the people there assembled: These are therefore in the name of his *Highness*, &c. to will

will and command you forthwith to receive the said *Thomas Goodaire* into your custody, and him safely keep till next generall *Sessions* for the Peace to be holden for this County; And hereof you are not to fail, as you will answer the contrary. Given under our Hands and Seals this 27. of *March*, 1655.

*Nicholas Person.*

*Tho: Belamy.*

3. In *Torkeſhire, Derby, Leiſeſter, Northampton.*

*There were divers proceedings againſt William Deusbery.*

IT is informed that *William Deusbery* a Ring-leader of the *Quakers*, goes up and down the County of *Torke*, and is now in the *West-Riding* thereof, diſperſing principles prejudicial to the Truth of the *Gospel*, and peace of the *Commonwealth*. It is therefore deſired, that ſeeing no man is allowed publicquely to exerciſe his gifts to a particular Congregation unleſſe he be firſt tryed and approved, that the ſaid *William Deusbery* may not be permitted to go up and down from place to place teaching, untill he receive approbation of ſome perſon who ſhall be thought fit to judge how agreeable his principles are to truth and peace.

The ſubſtance of what was delivered to Mr. *Payler* the foreman of the *Grand Jury*, to acquaint therewith Judge *Windham* at *Torke Aſſi-*



zes, 13. or 14. of *March*, 1653. Whereupon a Warrant was granted in open Court to the Justices in *Yorke-shire* to apprehend him, who being at *Tbolthorpe* about ten miles from *Yorke* in the *North-riding*, *George Man* went to Mr. *Dikeson* at *Kerby Hall* in *Yorke-shire*, who granted a Warrant, *April* 26. And on the 27. at *Crake* by *John Lockwood* the *High Constable*, by that Warrant he was apprehended, and on the 28 day brought before Mr. *Dikeson* by whom he was committed.

*The Mittimus to the Sheriff of the County, & to the Keeper of the Gaol of the Castle at York.*

**W**Hereas there was a Warrant directed for the apprehending of *William Densbery* of *Stanly* for the seducing of the people of this Nation, from Judge *Windham* the last *Affizes*; and he being brought before me, and refuseth to find Sureties, to be of good behaviour, and to appear at the next *Affize* to be holden for the said County to answer the premisses; you are to receive into your custody the said *W.D.* and him safely to keep, untill delivered by due course of Law. *April* 28. 1654. *Tho. Dikeson.*

At *Yorke Castle* he was kept prisoner till the *Affizes* till *July* 25. And at the end of the *Affizes* cleared by Proclamation, & had a *Liberate* sent him, as he saith himself. From thence he went into *Cleveland*, and other parts in *Yorke-shire*, *Nottinghamshire*, and so to *Derby*; and at *Derby* he was laid hold on as he was declaring his mind, and  
so

so carried before the Justices, sitting in *Sessions* in the Town, *Aug. 24. 1654.* where it seems he appeared in such manner, as the Justices bid the Jaylor take him away to Prison for disturbing the Court. Into Prison he was put, and at night the *Mayor, Thomas Yail* sent for him, and asked him what he came to *Derby* for, he answered, to declare the word of the *Lord*. The *Mayor*, wilt thou go out of the Town? *Answ.* When the *Lord* orders me. Then was he commanded to prison again. The next day came one of the *Mayors* officers, and said, if he would go forth of the Town, and come no more, he would let him out; he answered, he would not till ordered of the *Lord*, and till the man that said he had authority to put me in, come and take me out; afterward the Jaylor delivered him to the Officer, who put him forth of the Towne, and strictly charged him to depart: But he returned into the Town again, and there stayed, as he saith, till he was free in his spirit to go thence.

From thence he went to *Leicester*, there he went into the Church; and after the Minister had done, he spake to the people, then two from the Mayor *Edmund Johnson*, carried him away to him, who commanded his Officers to put him in prison; and the next day he was brought before the *Mayor* and another of the *Magistrates*; and after examination; the Keeper of the *Gaol* was commanded to put him out of the Town, and charged him to depart, but he returned to go on in his speakings.

Then (as he saith) in obedience to the spirit of  
Truth,

Truth, he went into *Northamptonshire*, and at *Wellingborough* went into the Church, and after the Minister had done, then he spake to the people, *Decemb. 28.* *Richard Dennis* Constable, had him with a Warrant before Mr. *Thomas Pentlow* at *Wilby* in *Northamptonshire*; who upon examination made him a *Mittimus*, and sent him to *Northampton Gaol*; and when he appeared before the Justices at *Session*, he was again committed to prison to answer next *Affizes*, *March 1654.* where he was brought before Judge *Hale* and Judge *Windham*, by whom he was committed to prison again; whilst he was there, he writ his *Discovery*, and his *Mighty day*.

#### 4. In *Carlisle*.

**T** *Thomas Stubbs* went into the church at *Dean* after the Minister had done, he began to speak, and after that time, *Peter Head* did likewise; the Minister having a Warrant, required the Constable to take him away, and so he was carried before the *Magistrate*. At the *Sessions* they were indicted; and not submitting to the Justices, they were commanded to prison. *Thomas Stubbs* and *John Head* had not long after a *Libe-rate*; for *Peter Head* there was a *Mittimus*, that he should be in prison three moneths without *Bail* or *Mainprize*: But they that might go free, chose rather to abide in prison, then pay their fees, where they were above 13. weeks in Prison, and *Peter Head* above three moneths.

#### 5. In

5. In *Bury*.

**G**eorge Rose was more then 40. weeks (as he saith) in the *Gaol of Edmunds-Bury*. George *Whitehead*, *John Harwood*, and *Richard Clayton* passing through *Bury* in *Suffolke*, about 5. miles from *Halstead* in *Essex*; and passing by the Church, *Rich: Clayton* set up a paper upon the Church door, the people gathering about to read it, *Harwood* and *Whitehead* began to speak to the people; and passing from the people, *Richard Hum*, *Constable* stayed them, and carried them two before Justice *Pelham*, who examined them, and sent them by the *Constable* to Justice *Walgrave*, who after examination, gave his Warrant to imprison *John Harwood*, and another, to have *Rich. Clayton* whipped at *Bury*, and sent from *Constable* to *Constable* till he came to his home, and charged the *Constable* with *Whitehead* that week, till another Justice came from the *Affizes* at *Bury*: So they were had back to *Bury*, and *Rich. Hum* that night in the open street whip'd *Rich. Clayton*, and afterward sent him away that night, and kept *Harwood* & *Whitehead*. Next morning *Harwood* was sent to *Bury Prison*, some 16. miles from the said *Bury*, to wit, to *Edmunds Bury* in *Suffolke*; and the next morning a Warrant came from Justice *Walgrave* to send *Whitehead* to the said Prison, which was done accordingly.

6. At *Evesham* in *Worcestershire*.

**A**T the general *Sessions* held for that place, many of the Quakers were fined, and 11. imprisoned.



prisoned. The Mayor *Edward Young*, upon the 14. of *October*, committed 2. Quakers to prison, and at night divers of them meeting in the street, the Mayor came with Officers, and put many of them into prison, and into the stocks, and three of them into the dungeon, commanding the rest on pain of imprisonment to depart.

7. *At Northampton.*

**A**. D. 1655. July 21. the Gaoler called *Will. Densbury*, *Joseph Stow*, *Henry Williamson*, *John Whitehead*, *Marmaduke Stow*, *The Cocket*, and *Francis Ellington*, and set them at the Bar before the Court, and they all were covered till the Judge commanded the Gaolers man to pull off their hats.

Judge *Atkins* asked *Will. Densbury* his name; he answered, unknown to the world, but that the world knows is *William Densbury*. *Atkins*, what Countryman? *A.* of *Canaan*. My natural birth was in *Torke*, 9 miles from *Torke*, toward *Hull*. *Atkins*, why did you not stay there? *A.* So I did, till called to go, where led by the Spirit. The *Clerke of the Peace* told the Judge there was an Information given in on oath by *Mr. Robert Burton*, that *Will. Densbury*, 29. of *December*, 1654. did go into *Wellingborough Church*, and by gesture and words made disturbance among the people. *J. Atkins*. I shall take course, that those which have disturbed the Ministers, before I go forth of the Town, be indicted; and told *Densbury* that he broke the Law, in that he was found wandering in the Country,

for

for there is an ancient Law, that if any did go from their dwellings, to travell in the Countrey without a Certificate from a Justice, they were to be taken as Wanderers; and common fame is a good accuser, though not a good tryer: And I am satisfied from what I have heard to continue you in prison, unlesse you will put in bond to be of good behaviour, and appear at the next *Assizes*; for you are by common fame accused to be a dangerous people, and breakers of the publique peace. The Court rising, the Gaolers took them away to prison again till the next *Assize*.

8. *Lancaster.*

*From thence a Petition to the Council of State, of severall Gentlemen, Justices of Peace, Ministers and People.*

*Sheweth,*

**T**HAT George Fox and James Naylor are persons disaffected to Religion, and the wholesome Laws of this Nation: And that since their coming into this Country, have broached opinions tending to the destruction of the relations of Subjects to their Magistrates, Wives to their Husbands, children to their Parents, servants to their Masters, congregations to their Ministers, and of a people to their God: And have drawn much people after them, many whereof (men, women, and little children) at their meetings are strangely wrought upon in their bodies, and brought to fall, foam at mouth, roar, and swell in their bodies; and that some of them affirmed themselves to be e-

R

quall

quall with God, as hath been attested at a late Quarter-Session at *Lancaster* in *October*, & since that time acknowledged before many Witnesses, besides many dangerous opinions and damnable heresies, as appears by a Schedule annexed, with the names of the Witnesses subscribed.

May it therefore please your *Honours*, upon consideration of the premises, to provide that some speedy course may be taken for the suppressing those evils, &c.

*The Schedule.*

1. *George* professed and avowed that he was equall with God. 2. To be the Eternal Judge of the world. 3. He was the Judge of the world. 4. The Christ, the way, the truth, and the life. 5. Whosoever took a place of Scripture, and made a Sermon of it, was a Conjuror, and his preaching conjuration. 6. That the Scripture was carnall.

*James Milner* professes himself to be God and Christ, and gives out prophecies.

1. That the day of judgement shall be the 15. of *Novemb.*

2. Never Judge sit at *Lancaster* again.

3. That he must ere long shake the foundations of the great *Synagogue*, meaning the *Parl.*

*Leonard Fell* professeth, that [*Christ had never any body but his Church. Richard Hubberth.* That Christs coming in the flesh was but a figure.

*Sauls Er-* *Geo. Fox* saith, these matters are falsely charged upon him: but whosoever reads his answers  
and, p. 3. may easily see how he prevaricates. To give you a tast, 1. Answering that have broached opinions,

p. 4. *Opinions we deny*, they taking themselves in all to be infallibly guided by the Spirit, and saith but little more in a few canting termes to that grand Objection of teaching such Doctrines as break relations. 2. To that of saying *he was equall with God*, this jejune equivocating answer. *It was not so spoken, as George Fox was equall to God, but the father and the son is one, &c.* 3. To that he is the eternall Judge of the world, answers p. 6. He that was a Minister of God said, that the *Saints shall judge the world*: What means this daubing, this palliating? Come to an humble Saint, that knows himselfe, and abhors his own vileness, and from him you shall have far other answers: So that indeed his whole answer will be found rather a confirmation of the charge, then a cleering of him; so that the more he stirs, the worle he stincks. It is in vain, and but expence of time to make more words about it, he that will may read the book.

Of James Milner; *Though his mind did run out* Page 9. *from his condition, and from minding that light of God which is in him, yet there is a pure seed in him, hoc concessio*, two pillars of theirs are overturned, that they are guided alway in their teachings by an infallible spirit infallibly, and perfect.

Of Leonard Fellis; *That Christ had no body but his Church.* Ans. There is one body, & Christ is the head of his body, the Church, goes to make it good, and in justifying another, condemns himself.



## 9. In Devonshire.

a Not  
Hailhead.  
b But not  
well seafo-  
ned.

c But by  
whom the  
Question.

d All as  
they con-  
ceive.

e Quo war-  
ranto?

f A long  
journey on  
a sleeve-  
less errand.

g For  
clearly  
they were  
out of the  
way.

**M**iles Halhead (a) and Tho. Salthouse (b) being pressed in spirit (c) to visit the seed of God in captivity (d) in *Plymouth*, left their beings and relations in the North, (e) passed thitherward as far as *Hunniton* neer *Exeter*, (f) where a guard being placed for apprehending of such persons as were suspected to have a hand in an Insurrection broke out a little before, by them they were taken up and brought before Colonel *Coppleston* high Sheriff of the County: Having examined them, he caused them to be kept close prisoners at *Exeter* for about 14 dayes, and then sent them from Officer to Officer towards their homes. (g)

Being come 2 miles from *Taunton* on the way to *Bridgewater*, the Officer falling to the ground was able to go no further; whereupon they returned (as they say) to the Justice of *Taunton*, to know what they would enjoyn them in, and he quietly dismissed them.

Hereupon they passed to *Bristol*, having staid there, and thereabout some time, they passed to *Plymouth*, 16. of May, 1655. On May 21. the Constable came with a Warrant from Mr. *John Page* Mayor; being brought before him, they were committed to prison at the *Guildball*. The next day they were brought before the Mayor, Magistrates, & Councel, and the Ministers of the Town, and severally examined about the space of 3. hours, and returned to prison; the Mayor being asked why they were committed, answered for denying the *Trinity*, and that there had been

been oaths taken to that purpose : And being again asked, he said for *refusing to take the Oath of Abjuration, & upon suspicion that they were Jesuits*. Having been kept prisoners for the space of a week, *May 28.* they were sent to the *Common Gaol* in the *Castle of Exeter*, as *disturbers of the peace*, and for divers other misdemeanors against a late Proclamation, prohibiting the disturbing of Ministers; and against an Ordinance of the *Protectors* lately made against Duels and Challenges, and all provocations thereunto, and for refusing to give sufficient sureties for their appearing at next Sessions; and in the mean while to be of good behaviour. Being brought to *Exeter*, they lay till the general Sessions the 10. of *July*. On the 12. they were brought before the Sessions, to whom the Clerk read a Bill of Indictment upon the Ordinance for preventing of Duels.

That they did the 20. of *May*, 1655. at *Plymouth* in the hearing of divers, use divers disgracefull provoking words and passages to *Geo. Brook* Clerk in the *Nightingale Frigor*; he being then opening and declaring to the same persons a Scripture, wherein he spake of the *Trinity*, viz, *Thou lyesst in saying there were three persons in the Trinity; we deny it, there is no such thing: but thou art a deluding spirit, come to draw away the hearts of the people from God*: And they did speak to the people not to hearken to *Geo. Brook*, for that he was a *Thief*, and was come with a lye in his mouth, and said it was a lye that he had brought, and other harms to the said *George Brooks* against the publique peace.

To the Indictment they pleaded *not guilty*, the Gaoler was commanded to take them away, and about an hour after called in, and the Oath of Abjuration tendered them, which they refusing, were returned to prison: The next day they were brought to the Bench again, and refusing to confess they had wronged Mr. Brooks, they were fined  $\text{\textit{s}}\text{ } 1$ . a piece, and sent to the House of Correction till payment, and to find sureties for their behaviour, and so were they returned to prison.

10. In Bristol.

SOME neer Kendale in Westmerland came to Bristol on July 12. 1654. and went to Plym. on the 14. and from thence to London: but one of them, John Andland, returned to Bristol about Septemb. with one John Camm, where they prevailed on many; the places of meeting were in the fields, though winter, to two, 3. yea sometime near 4000.

On the 30 of Octob. the Magistrates being assembled in the Council-Chamber, sent an officer to Francis Horgil and Edw. Burrough to come before them; which done, they were commanded to depart the City & Liberties thereof at their peril. To which they made answ. *That they came not in the will of man, nor stood in the will of man: but when they moved them to depart, who moved them thither, they should obey; but their wills they could not obey, for their will was not law.* Thereupon a while after, Representations were made at Whitehall and Westminster. that they were disaffected to the Government, suspected to be carrying on some designe, and that there are thousands

sands at their meetings, even in the *Fort*, that the *Garrison* was in danger thereby, and that the *Officers* of the *Garrison* were friends to them.

On *Decemb. 10.* in the morning, *Eliz. Marshall* went to *Nicholas Church*, where *Mr. Ralph Farmer* preached; sitting over against him, after the last prayer, she cryed out, *This is the word of the Lord to thee Farmer, wo, wo, wo, from the Lord to them who take the word of the Lord in their mouths, and the Lord never sent them*; was proceeding, but hindered by the people tumulting about her, to them she said, *This is the mighty day of the Lord, the Lord is coming to pull the people out of the mouths of all dumb Shepherds: The Mayor, Mr. John Gunning*, the next day sent for her, & several days that week, but she was not at home. In the afternoon the same day, *M<sup>r</sup> Grimes* preached at *Philips*; *Henry Gunning* reprov'd him, he having said, *that he committed sin in all he did*. Whereupon *John Warring* said to him, *If thou wert a Minister of Jesus Christ, the law of the spirit of life would make thee free from the law of sin and death*. That week the *Magistrates* sent for *Joh. Warring*, and upon the disturbance committed him to *Newgate*.

On the 17. of this moneth, *Eliz. Marshall* went to the *Colledge Church* to speak to *Mr. Knowls*: After the blessing, she said, *This is the word of the Lord to thee Knowls, I warn thee to repent, and to mind the light of Christ in thy conscience*; and was very full to have spoken more: but *Alderman William Cann* commanded to lay hands on her. To them she cryed with a loud

voyce



voyce often; *The mighty day of the Lord is at hand wherein he will strike terror on the wicked.* By a Constable she was carried before the Mayor, who for disturbance was sent by him to *Newgate*. The 18. she was sent for to the *Council-house*, where Mayor & Aldermen sitting, the Mayor charged her with *disturbing the peace*, and called for the depositions against her, as to what said to M. Farmer, he not having said the Blessing. The depositions were read; and she being demanded concerning the words, answered, *I have said*, whereupon she was returned to prison. At length in this moneth it grew so high, that the whole City was put into a great tumult, and most imminent danger.

On *Janua. 1.* Henry Warren went to *Thomas Church*, where one Mr. Longman preached; and when he had done, told him, *The prayers of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord*; thereupon he was carried before the Mayor, who demanded of him why he kept on his hat in the time of Prayer; he replied, the Lord saith, *my son give me thy heart*, for the fashions and customs of the world are an abomination to the Lord. After further examination he was committed to prison.

*Janu. 16. 1654.* a general Sessions for County and City was held, where was called H. Warren, to whom the Town-Clerk said, he stood there for *disturbing the peace*: and nothing in charge being returned, he told him he might go about his business, and bid him take that for a warning.

*Eliz. Marshal* was the next; the Town-clerk told her she stood committed for *disturbing the peace*.

peace. After some speech, she was returned to prison, where she was continued about 4. weeks, and then released.

John Warring next, to whom his Charge was read for making disturbance in the Congregation, calling the Minister *Devil*, and kicking at the *Clerke*, and saying, *the Minister spake never a true word*. Then the Court asked him, whether he would promise for the future he would do no more such things, and find Sureties for his good behaviour; he refusing, was sent to prison again, and continued there till the 19<sup>th</sup> of *January*, at which time a *Liberate* was sent the *Jaylor*, signed *Aldworth*, and witnessed *John Gunning* Mayor, dated *Jan. 19. 1654.*

At this Session there was made this order; *That no person or persons do hereafter presume to molest, trouble, or otherwise disquiet any Minister or Congregation either before or after the publique Exercises be ended: And if any person or persons so offend, that in all such cases, the Constables or any other Officers shall apprehend, take, or arrest the party or parties so offending, and bring him or them before the Mayor, and some other Justice of the Peace, who are to take care that such offender or offenders be bound with sufficient Sureties to appear at the next general Sessions; and in the mean while to be of the good behaviour: and for not finding some sureties as aforesaid, to commit them to prison. That if any such disturbance, trouble, or other disquietment be hereafter made, done, or committed in the Churches, as aforesaid, the Minister be also desired not to hold dispute, or other publique debate*  
there

there with the party or parties so offending, but to perswade the hearers to repair home quietly to their severall families and habitations, and not to hearken to, or run after them. That the Constables do once in every fortnight make diligent search within their severall Wards for all strangers, Inmates, & suspicious persons, and to present their names, and those who entertain them within two days following to the Mayor and Justices, to the end such course may be taken with them as is agreeable to Law. That all people do take special notice, and be hereby forwarned not to be present at any tumult, or other unlawful assembly, or on any pretence to assemble or gather into companies, or multitudes, into the streets or elsewhere, or to conduct and follow offenders either to the Magistrates houses, or other places of justice, unless they be thereunto lawfully called: And the Constables and all other publick Officers are hereby required to apprehend and arrest all such Boyes and Apprentices, and other people that shall assemble or gather together as aforesaid, and to bring them before the Magistrates to be punished according to Law.

Jan. 22. Tho. Bawden for speaking to the people in the Congregation, was committed to prison, as also a Warrant signed, To all the Constables within this Citie, and to every of them.

Forasmuch as Information hath been given us, that John Cam & John Audland, two strangers, who were commanded to depart this City, have in contempt of Authority come into this City again to the disturbance of the publique peace: These are therefore to will and require you forthwith to apprehend

prehend them, and bring them before us to be examined according to law.

January 25. A Warrant as followeth. Forasmuch as Information upon oath hath been given us that certain persons of the Franciscan Order in Rome have of late come over into England, & under the notion of Quakers, drawn together severall multitudes of people in London. And whereas certain strangers going under the names of Joh. Cam, Jo. Audland, Geo. Fox, Ja. Naylor, Fr. Howgill, and Edw. Burrough, and others unknown, have lately resorted to this City, and in like manner under the same notion of Quakers, drawn multitudes of people after them, and occasioned very great disturbances among us. And forasmuch as by the said Information it appears to us to be very probable, & much to be suspected that the said persons so lately come hither, are some of those that came from Rome as aforesaid. These are therefore in the name of the Protector, so will and require you to make diligent search through your Ward for the aforesaid strangers, or any of them, and all other suspected persons, and to apprehend and bring them before us, or some of us to be examined and dealt with according to Law. Hereof fail you not.

Upon this warrant, Tho. Marford was taken, having on a hair coat: Being brought before the Magistrates, his coat was taken off, and the Officers ordered to turn him out of Town, which was done accordingly: but he by and by returned at the same gate; within which no sooner entred, but the Officers apprehended him again, and brought him before the Mayor, who committed him



him to prison, and his *hair coat* sent him, which he put on the next day on his other clothes: but the 3<sup>d</sup> day he was inwardly required (as they say) to put the *hair coat* next him, and so to abide till he spoke with the Mayor, which he did, and likewise was *barefooted*. When released, he immediately went so to the Mayor; who commanding his hat to be taken off, the ashes on his head flew about, which he shook from him, telling the Mayor, that the Lord of hosts would stain the glory and crown of all his pride, and strip him naked and bare.

Febr. 4. Thomas Robertson of Graierig near Kendal in Westmerland, being at Nich. Church when Mr. Hazard preached: After he had done, Thomas utters his voyce; being apprehended, he was carried to the Mayors, and committed to Newgate.

The same day Christopher Berkhead went into Stephens Church: when all ended, he said to the Minister, thou son of Pride, and proceeding further; and the Constable coming, he further said, the plagues of God is thy portion, the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. The next day the Mayor and Aldermen sent for him, and demanded wherefore he disturbed the Congregation, and bid him promise the Mayor that he would go to the Church no more, and they would free him: He answered, As to my own will I shall not go: but if I am moved of the Lord, I shall obey. Then he was sent to Bridewel, where he was for 9 or 10 days.

On March 15. 1654. Jeremy Higdel was sent for by the Mayor and Aldermen, and committed

to

to Newgate; on the 2d. of April he was sent for before them again, and was committed, but that evening released.

Sarah Goldsmith on May the 5th. 1634. put on a coat of sackcloth of hair next her, uncovered her head, put earth thereon, with her hair hanging down about her, without any other cloaths upon her, except shoes on her feet: In that manner went to every gate, and through every street within the walls of the City, and then stood at the high Cross in the view of Town and Market as a sign against the pride of Bristol, and abode in that habit 7. days. From the high cross she was brought by the Chamberlain, with some of the Sergeants to the Council-house, the Mayor asked her a reason of her actions; she answered, *It was in obedience to the light in her conscience,* so she was sent to Bridewel.

On May 8. the Mayor sent for Daniel Wastfield, and committed him to Newgate, where he continued a prisoner 33. dayes.

On the 11. the Mayor sent for William Ford; and being come, the Milliners complained, that he kept a man at work in contempt of the Mayors order; whereupon the Mayor charged him to turn the stranger away, and for refusing he was committed to prison: and refusing to go, the Officers did drive him along, where he was 26. dayes.

On Septemb. the 2<sup>d</sup>. Christopher Berehead at Nicholas Church, where Mr. Farmer having done (before that he stood with his hat on in the time of Prayer) he spake; *Thus saith the Lord, a horrible*

*horrible and wonderfull thing is committed in the Land; he by an Alderman present was committed to Bridewel.*

On Septemb. 9. Benjamin Maynard went to Mr. John Paul Minister, and coming into the Church where he was preaching, he said, *John Paul, in the presence of the Lord be silent* And as he was speaking further, taken and carried to Bridewel. The next day he was sent for before the Mayor and Aldermen, and asked to find Sureties; he refusing, was sent to Newgate.

On Septemb. 16. Margaret Thomas being at Nicholas Church, after Mr. Farmers Prayer before Sermon, she said to him, *Wo unto the Idol-shepheards that devour and scatter my flocke saith the Lord*; with more: but the Mayor and some Aldermen being present, commanded her to be carried to Bridewel; where continuing two or 3. days, she was removed to Newgate.

On September 23. Temperance Hignel went into Temple-Church; after Mr. Jacob Brent had done, began to speak, saying, *Wo from the Lord to thou Jacob Brent*. She was carried before Alderman Knight, who committed her to Bridewel. The next day she was brought before the Mayor and Aldermen, she was then asked whether she would go thither again? and whether she would be sorry for what done? She said, *she could say little to that*. Then the Mayor asked her if she would find Sureties for her good behaviour, she answered, *no*, so she was again committed, and sent to Newgate.

The same day John Smith went to Nicholas Church,

Church, Mr. Farmer having ended his Sermon before he began to pray, spake to the people that *John Smith* should be uncovered: and he perceiving the people moved, said, *why do the heathen rage?* And told Mr. Farmer, that he was covered with a covering, but not of the spirit; that he was not led by the Spirit, when he would bring one to swear, &c. The next day the Mayor & Aldermen sent for him; and coming before them covered, his hat was taken off at their command: Then they charg'd him with making a disturbance in the Church, then they asked him whether he would find sureties for his good behaviour? and he not doing it, was sent to Newgate. Octob. 8. he was again brought before the Mayor and Aldermen, and after a while remanded to prison; the Officers coming, he held fast by the Bar, from whence by force they haled him.

Octob. the 10. Being the general Session of the Peace, *Benjamin Mdynard* appeared, to whom was read an Information concerning his going to Mr. *John Paks* Church, as afore: He answered, *what I have spoken, I will own.* The Court asked him, whether he would be sorry for what he had done? he answered, *Nay, I will not be sorry at all.* Then *Margaret Thomas* was called, to whom the Town Clerk read an information, which he said was upon oath; *Her going into Nicholas Church: and after Mr. Farmer had ended his first prayer, her speaking, w<sup>o</sup>nn- to the Idol-shepherd that devours and scatters my Flocke,* with much more to that purpose. Then he asked, whether she would be sorry for it, and promise to do so no more? she answered, *I will not*, and so she was put by. *Temperance Hignel* was called, and asked, whether she would be sorry for what she had done, and promise to do so no more? She answered, *she was not sorry, neither could promise,* so was put by. *John Smith* next, against whom



whom an Information was read, *For disturbing the Congregation, and abusing Mr. Farmer.* They asked, whether he would acknowledge his offence, and be sorry for what done? which he denyed, and so put by. *William Ford* being asked whether he was sorry for what done? answered, *he had committed no evill, and therefore had no cause of sorrow*; Which being urged again and again, and still refusing, he was taken away.

Lastly, *Christopher Berckhead* was brought; then asked whether sorry for disturbing the Congregation? he answered, *be disturbed no man*, he vvas bid to be taken avway till he found Sureties; and so he vvas put from the Barre, and he vvith the other 5. vvere returned to *Newgate*.

On the 5. of Novemb. *John Smith, Rich. Iones, Christopher Berckhead, Margaret Thomas, and William Ford*, vvere let out upon two becoming Bail unknown to them for their appearance onely at next generall Sessions.

### P O S T S C R I P T.

**T**His Natrative is collected out of their own Papers, which is there to be found: but two things I was necessitated to omit. 1. *Many particular circumstances.* And 2. *what they say in reference to all those proceedings.* 1. *Crying out exceedingly of Injustice and Oppression in the Magistrates.* 2. *Of tumult, violence, cruelty, and inhumanity among the vulgar*; He that is desirous, may peruse their Books, as, *The cry of Blood. The persecution of the Quakers. The wounds of an Enemy in the house of a Friend. Sauls Errand. A discovery of the grounds of Imprisonment in Northampton cum aliis.* But had notice been taken of all, it would have been very tedious, and the book been far bigger then intended.

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